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Pact Foreign Ministers Hold Meeting in Prague

CTK Reports Meeting

LD221937 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—The foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states will hold a meeting in the Czechoslovak capital tomorrow.

GDR's Krolikowski Arrives

LD230929 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary of the GDR Foreign Ministry, arrived in Prague today to attend a Warsaw Pact foreign ministers' meeting. At Ruzyne Airport he was welcomed by Jaromir Johanes, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

USSR's Shevardnadze Arrives

LD231039 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived in Prague today for a Warsaw Pact foreign ministers' meeting. At Ruzyne Airport he was welcomed by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary of the GDR Foreign Ministry, and Henryk Jaroszek, Polish deputy foreign minister, have also arrived in Prague.

Nuclear Export Agreements Discussed

LD182304 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1745 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 18 Feb (ADN)—Several days of discussions by representatives of socialist countries that are partners in international agreements for the supervision of the export of nuclear material, nuclear equipment, and technology came to an end on Thursday at Warsaw. The GDR delegation was led by Dr Hans Scheel, vice president of the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection. [passage omitted]

Mandate for Future Talks Discussed in Vienna

LD221744 Warsaw PAP in English
1722 GMT 22 Feb 88

[By PAP correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Vienna, Feb. 22—The 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states started another round of consultations here Monday with a view to discussing the mandate of future negotiations on reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments and on consolidated security and stability in the whole of Europe.

The socialist countries postulated that future negotiations should be based on the principles of equal rights, balance and reciprocity, and of equal respect for security interests of all sides concerned.

Poland's Pytko on Vienna CSCE Talks

LD182330 Warsaw PAP in English
2151 GMT 18 Feb 88

[By PAP correspondent Franciszek Malinowski]

[Text] Vienna, Feb. 18—During the 35-nation CSCE review meeting in Vienna, the group for military aspects of security continued its talks on the working out of the mandate of a Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

During the group's work, representatives of Warsaw Treaty states prepared regular information on the ongoing consultations of 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty states.

Today, such information was presented by member of the Polish delegation, Colonel Leon Pytko who said that during consultations, representatives of the 23 states continued discussion on zones in which to apply decisions on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Pytko said that delegations of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria have presented additional arguments and explanations on the geostrategic conditions which should be taken into consideration while discussing the zone in the Soviet Union and Turkey. The Polish envoy also said that a certain rapprochement of both sides' stands is being observed on the question of control and exchange of information.

Press Views Belgrade Balkan Conference

AU230932 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 23 Feb 88

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Under the title "The Meeting of Foreign Ministers, Event of Special Political Importance for the Balkans", ZERI I POPULLIT carries the article by journalist Ymer Minxhozi, which says:

Tomorrow on February 24, the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries will start its proceedings in Belgrade. As the first meeting of the kind of the states of our peninsula, it assumes a special political importance regarding the problems to be discussed and the situation it is being held.

The foreign ministers of the six Balkan countries will sit at the round table to examine the actual problems of the Balkans, to find out ways and possibilities for cooperation in those fields of common interest aiming to improve the general climate in this region.

The Albanian delegation goes to this meeting with the good will and desire to render an effective contribution to strengthen the understanding and confidence among the Balkan peoples and countries. This is in full compliance with the priority Socialist Albania attaches to the policy of the relations of good-neighbourliness and to the endeavours that an atmosphere of peace and stability prevail in the Balkans. The fact that in our country there has been prohibited by Constitution the deployment of foreign military bases and troops, the granting of different facilities to them, as well as the guarantee Socialist Albania has granted to the neighbouring countries that no evil and danger will ever come to them from its territory, is a good testimony to this.

In all the preparatory work on the eve of the meeting, in the meetings and consultations with the other participating countries, and above all through all its political course defined by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our country has displayed its readiness to support every constructive act that leads to the improvement of the situation in the Balkans and the security in our peninsula. It has been and is for the constant strengthening and intensification of the relations of good-neighbourliness and cooperation with all the other countries of the region on the basis of equality, mutual profit, observation of independence and national sovereignty, the non-interference in the home affairs and inviolability of social system.

The strengthening of the cooperation and friendly relations will also contribute to overcome those negative factors still existing among the Balkan countries. Due to the already-known reasons the Balkans is also suffering from contradictions and conflicts of all kinds which have their impact in the situation and relations among the countries of our peninsula. One of the most sensitive problems, and this is understandable to all the Balkan states, is that of the minorities, for whose solution all must constantly work with maturity and without prejudices. Our party and state uphold that this correct national policy would be both in the interest of the cohesion and stability of every country and of better relations with the other countries. Such a policy would help in turning the problem of the minority from an apple of discord to a factor of rapprochement and friendship among the peoples.

From the historical point of view, the Balkans has been an object of foreigners' envy, from the ancient empires down to the big imperialist powers of the time. Due to their interference the peoples of our peninsula have suffered a lot. They had turned the Balkans into a powder keg. Even today the superpowers' political and military presence through the pacts of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty, their pressures and interferences into the home affairs of the countries of the region, pose a constant threat to the independence and sovereignty of the separate countries and to the peace and security in the Balkans.

It is a sincere desire of our people and country that all the peoples of the Balkans march forward on their road of national democratic and social emancipation, freed from foreign tutelages and dictates, in harmony and friendship with each other. Socialist Albania endorses any effort in this direction and opposes everything that would divide or make hostile the peoples of the Balkans and would curtail and infringe upon their freedom. The Balkans belongs to the countries and peoples of the Balkans and the foreign powers should be kept far from it.

The present complicated international situation makes it more necessary that the problems of our peninsula be viewed upon more realistically, freed from prejudices and mentalities belonging to previous epochs, freed from the previous feuds and rancours. Affirming once again the consistent policy of good-neighbourliness and of creating an atmosphere of cooperation and friendship in the Balkans, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the 9th congress of the party: "If the political will and sincere desire for cooperation exist, if the obligations of being neighbours and of the common and very important interests stemming from this are correctly evaluated, the ways leading to the overcoming of the current difficulties and tensions, to the building of that necessary spirit of mutual trust, to the strengthening of good understanding and the establishment of the genuine good-neighbourliness will be found."

The peoples of the Balkans have the sincere wish and are interested more than anyone else in peace and development in the region, to live in friendship with one another. They have set proofs that are able to solve by themselves their problems, on the basis of their fundamental interests, of peace and stability, without allowing interferences from abroad.

On the eve of the opening of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, the desire of our people is that its proceedings develop successfully, that the political atmosphere in the Balkans improve, that the spirit of good understanding among its countries be enhanced, that cooperation in different fields of common interest as in the economic, trade, cultural, technical-scientific, transport, ecology, be intensified, paving the road to concrete cooperation in other fields as well. The delegation of the PSR of Albania will not spare its efforts to render its contribution in all these directions. Our people wish that the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries serve really the lofty aspirations of the Balkan peoples for cooperation and friendship.

Officials See Off Cuban Trade Delegation

AU221423 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Tirana, February 22 (ATA)—The government trade delegation of the Republic of Cuba, headed by the minister of foreign trade, Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz, left our country yesterday. The delegation was seen off at the airport by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yzedin Hajdini, and other comrades.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba to the PSR of Albania, Carlos Alonso Moreno.

Upon its stay in our country, the Cuban delegation was also received by the minister of foodstuff industry, Jovan Bardhi, and by the minister of energy, Lavdosh Hametaj.

Youth Delegation Visits Western Sahara

AU231307 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Tirana, February 23 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Polisario Front Youth Organization, the Youth Union of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro (Ujsario), the delegation of the Central Committee of the LYUA [Albanian Union of Working Youth], headed by its first secretary, Mehmet Elezi, paid a visit of late to the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic. The delegation was received by Hamdi Baraj [spelling as received], member of the Political Bureau of the Polisario Front and secretary general of Ujsario, as well as by other leaders of the organization. The delegation was also received by the president of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic, Mohamed Abdelaziz, and other top personalities of the country. During the talks, which were conducted in a cordial atmosphere, it was spoken of the relations of the friendship and cooperation existing between Albania's youth and that of the Democratic Saharan Republic, between the LYUA and Ujsario, and there was expressed the desire for their further development.

Upon its stay in the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic, the delegation visited work and production centers, social-cultural institutions. It held meetings and talks with youngsters and representatives of social organizations.

Greek Premier Papandreou Arrives 22 Feb

AU221728 Sofia BTA in English 1636 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—Mr Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, who arrived here today on a friendly working visit, expressed hope that the meeting in Belgrade between the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states will be a great success. Mr Andreas Papandreou said that during his visit in Bulgaria he will have the opportunity to exchange opinions about the Belgrade meeting with his host Bulgaria's State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov. Our common goal is to make this meeting successful. It will review multilateral and not bilateral questions, in order to achieve all-Balkan cooperation in economy, trade, culture. I believe that the turning of the multilateral issues into bilateral disputes between the participants must be prevented, pointed out the Greek prime minister. At the Sofia Airport Mr Andreas Papandreou was met by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and by other officials. After the arrival ceremony, talks began between Mr Andreas Papanreou and Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Begins Talks With Zhivkov

AU221927 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The Bulgaro-Greek relations received high assessment at the talks which started here today between Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council, and Mr Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic. Discussing the development of the bilateral cooperation they expressed satisfaction over the implementation of the agreements reached at the previous meetings. Both stressed the importance of the Declaration For Friendship, Good-Neighbor Relations and Cooperation, signed between Bulgaria and Greece in 1986. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou viewed the situation in the Balkans and the forthcoming meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs in Belgrade. The two sides expressed conviction that it can be the starting point for the further development of the relations on the basis of friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation which corresponds to the interests of the Balkan peoples. It was noted that some of the existing problems—either historically inherited or arised later, must be solved in the conditions of peace and understanding, through negotiations. Certain topical international issues were also discussed, the East-West relations included. Special attention was paid to the problems of disarmament, most of all in the nuclear sphere. Positive assessment was given to the Soviet-American INF Treaty. Conviction was voiced that the treaty will be ratified as soon as possible and steps will be made toward reduction of other kinds of weapons. The talks will continue tomorrow.

Zhivkov Gives Dinner

AU222024 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, gave a dinner for Andreas Papandreou, Greek premier, on 22 February at Sofia's Sheraton-Balkan Hotel. The dinner was attended by Bulgarian party and state leaders and by the officials who are accompanying the distinguished guest.

Zhivkov, Papandreou Speak

AU230803 Sofia BTA in English 2242 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—At the dinner in honour of the visiting prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, Mr Andreas Papandreou, Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council, stressed the dynamic development of the Bulgaro-Greek relations. He expressed satisfaction over the activation of the economic ties. The talks that started today, said Mr Todor Zhivkov, are passing in the spirit of understanding, of mutual political will for further development of the cooperation in interest of the two peoples, peace and good-neighbour relations in the Balkans. He emphasised the common desire of the two countries to discuss the questions in detail, and the conviction that there is not a question which cannot be solved in the spirit of understanding and good-neighbourliness. We would like all Balkan peoples to adopt this philosophy of ours, noted the Bulgarian leader. No matter how heavy is the historical heritage, the new conditions provide opportunities for solution of the common questions, the contradictions between the separate countries included. Dwelling upon the forthcoming meeting in Belgrade, Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed the great importance which Bulgaria attaches to it. During our talk today, he said, we exchanged opinions on the meeting and expressed our will for its constructive holding. Firstly, it should discuss the questions that unite us. We do not underestimate the contradictions and the difficulties between the Balkan states, but they must continue to be discussed on a bilateral and multilateral basis in the spirit of the new realities in the world.

Pointing out as an example the favourable development of the Bulgaro-Greek relations, Mr Todor Zhivkov said that it has been prompted by the willingness to create a situation in the Balkans in which the interests of each Balkan state should come to the foreground, to establish a common consciousness. The Balkans must be a zone of peace, understanding and stability, stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov. Further on he pointed out the common positions of Bulgaria and Greece on certain cardinal issues of our times. He noted the categorical support to the dialogue between the USSR and the United States, to the INF Treaty, and the conviction that this opens possibilities for the resolution of the main problem of mankind: creating a world without weapons. At the same time Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that there are certain forces which try to undermine the negotiations for disarmament, to substantiate ideas for compensating the weapons that have to be destroyed with others. He expressed concern over the attempts of certain Western forces to create tension in the northern and southern parts of Europe. Bulgaria stands for peaceful settlement of all regional conflicts, said Mr Todor Zhivkov. He greeted Mikhail Gorbachev's recent declaration on the solution of the problems around Afghanistan. In conclusion Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed Bulgaria's readiness to work actively for the development of the good-neighbour cooperation between the Balkan countries, for strengthening of the atmosphere of peace and understanding in the region.

Greece's prime minister, Mr Andreas Papandreou, also expressed satisfaction over the condition of the relations between Greece and Bulgaria. Dwelling upon the Balkan countries' foreign ministers meeting in Belgrade, he said: There is nothing strange in the fact that our positions are similar. Because we also go with the same hope—to speak about the things that unite us and not about the things that divide us. We go to Belgrade with the same ideas and goals. We hope, said Mr Papandreou, that this meeting will turn into an institution. He stood in favour of the convening of a meeting of the Balkan ministers each two years, and after the creation of the necessary conditions—a top level Balkan meeting should be held. Mr Andreas Papandreou spoke about the condition of the international situation, about the difficulties on the road to disarmament after the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting. Mr Andreas Papandreou assessed the results of the Soviet-American summit as historical. But the forces that stand against the process that has started, no matter where they are, desire to neutralize this great success. For a start they strive for the turning of the small-range weapons into such modern weapons which could gradually replace the intermediate missiles, he said. I think that we have the right to remind all: When Mr Helmut Schmidt asked the United States to deploy the "cruise" and "Pershing-2" missiles, he had added that in the second stage, if the USSR withdraws its "SS-20" missiles from the western border, then the "Pershing-2" and "cruise" will be eliminated. In other words the Soviet Union did exactly what had been required by Western Europe. That is why at this moment one wonders when some West Europeans or Americans say: What are we going to do without these missiles, and they are only four per cent of the entire number of nuclear missiles, said Mr Andreas Papandreou. And the submarines are full of such missiles, the aircraft are always loaded with bombs, there are strategic weapons as well, he said. And what is more, a former proposal by Mikhail Gorbachev for the inclusion of Great Britain's and France's missiles in this general balance had not been accepted. One asks himself after all: What do those that stand against disarmament want? Mr Andreas Papandreou said that he stressed all these facts because his country belongs to the other military-political alliance, but it has a voice there, it is a Greek one, but mostly it is the voice of the entire mankind, because we have to put an end to the nuclear armament. We must not be shortsighted in these critical hours, emphasised in conclusion Mr Andreas Papandreou.

Bulgarian Cultural Center Opened in Moscow

AU052207 Sofia BTA in English
2005 GMT 5 Feb 88

["Bulgarian Culture and Information Centre in USSR"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Moscow, February 5 (BTA corr.)—A Bulgarian culture and information centre was officially opened today in a period building on 20 Leningradskiy Prospekt in Moscow.

In compliance with the intergovernmental agreement signed on January 19 in Sofia, the centre is to assist the further promotion of the cooperation between the two countries in the field of culture, science, technology and information. The official opening ceremony attracted many friends of Bulgaria. It was attended by Mr Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CC of the CPSU and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, by Mr Vladimir Orlov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, and by outstanding figures in the field of culture.

The opening was also attended by a Bulgarian delegation, headed by Mr Georgiy Yordanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of Culture, Science and Education.

The fact that the centre was opened on the eve of the 110th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland from Ottoman domination is significant, Mr. Georgiy Yordanov said. Bulgaria's gratitude to the fraternal Russian people who sacrificed the lives of thousands of its beloved sons to our liberation, is immense and eternal.

Our cooperation in all spheres is based on equality and serves our common goals, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation said. The process of all-round increasing closeness is objective and irreversible.

The speaker quoted Todor Zhivkov's pronouncement that the community of objectives, tasks and areas of the restructuring under way in the two countries creates most favourable conditions for an enhancement of Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation. We wish the centre, he said, to become as sought and welcome as its Bulgarian counterpart, the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Sofia. [passage omitted]

Today Mr Georgiy Yordanov was received by Mr Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the CPSU. They exchanged views on certain questions concerning Bulgaro-Soviet interaction in the intellectual sphere.

Public Meeting Marks USSR Army Anniversary

AU221831 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The meetings between Mr Gorbachev and Mr Reagan are key events in the life of mankind. The signing of the INF Treaty is a first step toward the removal of mankind from the brink of the nuclear apocalypse. The Soviet decision on Afghanistan has also had a favorable impact over the situation in the world, said Col General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, at a rally marking the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

These changes are a victory of all peace-loving forces but are above all the result of the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other allied states, a result of the brave, principled and flexible policy of the Soviet leadership led by Mr Gorbachev. He went on to say that this does not mean that the problems of the fraternal countries' defense have lost their significance. Such a conclusion could be badly wrong as, apart from the positive trends in world affairs, there are many facts showing that the most reactionary circles of imperialism have not abandoned their imperialist aspirations.

Col General Semerdzhiev quoted some of these facts: the difficulties involving the ratification of the INF Treaty in the United States, the NATO and Pentagon plans for filling in the gap left by the 2000 missiles which are to be dismantled, the United States' disregard for the relationship between the reduction of the strategic forces and the abidance by the ABM Treaty, the continuing production of and tests with intermediate missiles in the United States and other unconstructive steps in the military field.

The chief of the General Staff assessed the recent provocative violations of the Soviet sea frontier as an expression of the incapability or unwillingness on the part of certain circles in the U.S. to realize that any attempt to exert militarist pressure over socialism is bound to fail.

Colonel General Semerdzhiev referred to the program for a comprehensive system of international security as a concrete embodiment of new political thinking. It could become a global model of new international order which fully corresponds to the UN Charter and eliminates all divisions of the countries based on military considerations. He went on to recall that the supreme goal and the essence of the Warsaw Treaty's military doctrine is the prevention of war.

In conclusion, Col General Semerdzhiev said that while the reactionary militarist circles in the West are continuing to struggle for military superiority and are sticking to their old stereotypes of aggressive thinking, the armed forces of the allied socialist countries should continue to keep their combat readiness in order to be capable of halting the aggressors should they ever decide to start a war. The only way to achieve true security is to bring down the level of the strategic balance to the lowest possible limits, the limits of reasonable sufficiency.

BCP CC Message to Spanish CP Congress

AU221715 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Feb 88 p 5

[Greeting message from the BCP Central Committee to the 12th Spanish Communist Party Congress presented by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and BCP Central Committee secretary, in Madrid on 19 February]

[Text] The Bulgarian delegation to the 12th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), headed by Milko Balev, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and BCP Central Committee secretary, presented a message from the BCP Central Committee, which reads as follows:

The BCP Central Committee conveys the most sincere greetings and wishes for fruitful work to the delegates and guests at the 12th congress of the glorious PCE and to all Spanish Communists who are our comrades in the joint progress toward peace, democracy, and socialism.

The Bulgarian Communists are well acquainted with and highly appreciate the indefatigable activities of the PCE in defense of the working people's vital interests, in rallying all Communists, and in strengthening the unity of action of left-wing forces in your country, as well as its struggle for fundamental and progressive changes in society, for peace, disarmament, and socialism.

We are living in an exceptionally complicated era of world development which involves great responsibility and confronts us with the fateful problem of averting nuclear disasters, with other global problems the solution of which determines the survival of man, the preservation, and further development of our civilization. Communists throughout the world are facing an historical challenge today—namely to engage in the search for new paths and new practical approaches based on new political thinking, aimed at a deeper analysis, and gradual positive solution to the difficult problems of our epoch.

The restructuring and innovation processes taking place in the USS and in other socialist countries and the dynamic foreign policy of world socialism enhance its prestige and influence in international politics, opening wide prospects of cooperation among all progressive, democratic, and peace-loving forces.

Loyal to its revolutionary traditions, the BCP contributes to the common international cause with the revolutionary restructuring process currently taking place in our country, under the party's leadership, aimed at a qualitative innovation of socialism in Bulgaria on the basis of scientific-technical revolution and overall democratization in all spheres of social life through the expansion of socialist self-management. Our concept developed by the Central Committee, at the initiative and under the leadership of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was further developed and enriched at the BCP National Conference held at the end of January 1988.

The BCP Central Committee totally supports and actively participates in implementing the program launched by the CPSU on building a comprehensive international security system, on eliminating nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the end of this century. We devote particular attention to the development of good neighborly relations and all-round cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula, for the transformation of this area into a zone, free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

We express our confidence that the 12th PCE Congress will mark an important stage in rallying and in achieving organizational unity of all Spanish Communists, in strengthening the influence of the party in Spanish society, and in consolidating the united left.

We would like to assure you, dear Spanish comrades, that we preserve our sincere feelings of solidarity, comradeship, and internationalism, which since the era of Georgi Dimitrov and Jose Diaz to our days all Bulgarian Communists have nurtured for you.

As in the past, the BCP will continue to work for the development of fraternal relations and cooperation between our two parties, in the interest of friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Spanish peoples, for the sake of peace, democracy, and social progress.

Balev, Delegation Return

AU221931 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] The BCP Central Committee delegation led by Comrade Milko Balev, which took part in the 12th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party, returned to Bulgaria on 22 February.

Trade Cooperation Protocol Signed With India

AU191434 Sofia BTA in English
1326 GMT 19 Feb 88

["Bulgaria-India: Active Trade Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 19 (BTA)—The traditionally friendly relations between Bulgaria and India and their economic potentials are a real basis for the successful promotion of economic cooperation. This conclusion was confirmed at the meeting held here of the working groups for trade with the Bulgaro-Indian Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

In 1988 the reciprocal exchange of goods is expected to amount to about 110 million U.S. dollars, as envisaged in the signed protocol.

The share of mechanical engineering products in Bulgaria's export list will increase. The protocol envisages the export of machines and equipment, electronic components and computers, chemicals, plastics, petrochemical products, metals, etc.

From India Bulgaria will import machines, road-building equipment, some electronic components, fodders and products of the light industry.

The talks stressed that there exist possibilities for joint production in the field of electronics, robotics, I.C.E. [internal combustion engine] and electric trucks building, electric motors, machine tools, etc.

An agreement was reached to study the possibilities for the joint building of projects in third countries.

Talks with Congolese Trade Unions Reported

AU151539 Sofia BTA in English
1418 GMT 15 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia, February 15 (BTA)—The leaders of the trade union organizations of Bulgaria and the Congo expressed their satisfaction over the cooperation between the working people and the trade unions of the two countries. At the talks that were held here today they exchanged information on the activity of the two trade unions at the present stage.

Mr. Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the National Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, acquainted his guests with the dynamic processes of restructuring underway in this country. He paid special attention to the role and place of the Bulgarian Trade Unions in the realization of the radical changes in society.

Mr. Jean-Michel Boukamba Yangouma, president of the Confederation Syndicale Congolaise and member of the Politburo of the CC of the Parti Congolais Du Travail (PCT), dwelled on the contribution of trade unions and working people in the construction of the material base of socialism in his country.

The two delegations stood for continuation of the practice of regular consultations on bilateral and multilateral basis for the further development of the fruitful cooperation between the working people and trace unions of the two countries.

The delegations exchanged opinions on certain topical issues of the international trade union movement and the situation in the world.

Communique Signed

AU181056 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
17 Feb 88 pp 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Trade Union Cooperation Strengthens"]

[Text] The official talks between the delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, led by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and the visiting delegation of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation, led by Jean-Michel Boukamba Yangouma, general secretary of the Congolese Trade Union Federation, continued on 16 February.

The two sides highly evaluated the state of fruitful cooperation between the trade unions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo. They expressed their readiness to utilize the achievements and experience which have been accumulated so far, as well as the new possibilities which have emerged, to further expand and strengthen cooperation between the working people of the two countries. It was unanimously stressed that the exchange of opinions which took place during the official talks, and the detailed acquaintance with the tasks which the trade unions are solving at present, have great importance in developing future cooperation.

The joint communique which was adopted points out that the representatives of the Congolese trade unions have been acquainted with the dynamic process of restructuring all areas of life which is taking place in Bulgaria. During their talks the delegations paid great attention to the restructuring of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, as well as their role and place in the radical social changes which are taking place in our country.

For its part, the Congolese delegation has acquainted the Bulgarian trade union delegation with the efforts which are being made in Congo to constantly increase the trade union's role in society and in managing production in the enterprises, with a view to prompting the working people to make their essential and significant contribution to constructing the material basis of socialism in the People's Republic of Congo.

While exchanging opinions on the development of the international trade union movement and the world situation, the communique reads, the two delegations expressed the deep satisfaction of the working people of their countries with the first and decisive step toward nuclear disarmament, which was made by signing the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty. They expressed their great hope in the forthcoming Moscow summit, at which a 50-percent reduction of strategic strike weapons will be discussed.

The two sides will continue to support the working people and trade unions, which are struggling against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, and for freedom, national liberation, a new economic order, and social progress.

In conclusion, the communique points out the willingness of the two sides to continue the practice of regular consultations between the trade unions, both within the framework of their bilateral cooperation, and on a multilateral basis. The conviction has been expressed that the present visit will give a new impetus to further developing and strengthening fruitful contacts between the two countries' working people and trade unions.

The joint communique was signed by the leaders of the two delegations, Petur Dyulgerov and Jean-Michel Boukamba Yangouma. The concluding talks have been attended by Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Central Union of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and Henry Jombo, ambassador of the People's Republic of Congo to Bulgaria.

During its visit to Bulgaria the delegation of the Congolese Trade Union Confederation had a meeting with the leadership of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Agriculture and Food Industry.

On 16 February the Congolese delegation departed from Bulgaria.

Bulgarian-Indonesian Consultations Held

AU121937 Sofia BTA in English
1756 GMT 12 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia, February 12 (BTA)—Political consultations between the foreign ministries of Bulgaria and Indonesia were held here from February 10 to February 12, 1988.

Mr Nana Sutresna, director general for political affairs, was received by Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov and by Foreign Economic Relations Minister Andrey Lukanov.

The participants in the talks expressed satisfaction with the activation of the bilateral contacts in recent years. At the same time they expressed the view that the entire potential of the cooperation has still not been utilized, especially in the field of foreign trade. The two countries' diplomats outlined concrete measures for the further development of the contacts between Bulgaria and Indonesia.

They noted the coincidence or closeness of the two countries' views on a number of important international problems and agreed that the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty was a historical step forward towards the reduction of the nuclear forces, the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

The diplomats agreed that the disputed issues in different parts of the world should be resolved by political means and through dialogue, through the strengthening of confidence and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Mr Aleksandur Strezov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, was Bulgaria's representative to the consultations.

Fire Hits Borovets Hotel, Casualties Reported

AU221730 Sofia BTA in English
1647 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—A fire broke out in the Musala Hotel in the winter resort of Borovets (50 km away from Sofia) at 3 o'clock am on February 22, 1988, despite the fact that the hotel was outfitted with all necessary firefighting equipment. The causes of the fire are still not known.

Measures were taken to put out the blaze but the building was quickly engulfed in flames. In the panic that followed 6 people died. They are Ms Ever Vanderberg, Mr Peter Zekelenburg, both of them from the Netherlands, and a Bulgarian citizen. Three of the victims have still not been identified.

36 People were injured. Of them 17 are British, 4 Soviet, 5 West German, 1 Dutch, 7 Greek and 2 Danish citizens.

The necessary medical aid has been provided to the injured and the rest of the tourists have been accommodated in other hotels.

A special commission has been appointed to investigate the tragic incident.

Strougal Receives USSR's Silayev

LD222028 Prague CTK in English
1924 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and Soviet Deputy Premier and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Bureau for Engineering Ivan Silayev exchanged information here today on economic reforms in their countries and their political aspects.

Ivan Silayev is currently on a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia at the head of a Soviet delegation.

During the talks they stressed the need to press for close cooperation in the sphere of the Czechoslovak and Soviet engineering complexes.

Lubomir Strougal expressed the Czechoslovak Government's interest in speeding up the works on the new generation of nuclear reactors.

Nuclear Power Talks Held

LD222007 Prague CTK in English
1559 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—The 12th session of Czechoslovak and Soviet Government envoys opened here today to deal with the implementation of the program of cooperation in nuclear power engineering till the year 2000.

A session on the further development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in the engineering industry is held parallelly.

The Czechoslovak delegation to the talks is led by Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle and the Soviet delegation by Deputy Premier and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Bureau for Engineering Ivan Silayev.

The delegations dealt in detail with cooperation in the construction of nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia, namely those under construction at Mochovce, West Slovakia, and Temelin, South Bohemia. Cooperation in the production of equipment for nuclear power plants and in running and increasing the safety of nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia was also on the agenda.

The session also discussed the preparation of a joint concept of cooperation for the next 15-20 years and coordination of national economic plans for the 1991-1995 period in the sphere of engineering and electrical engineering.

New Trade Contracts With Algeria Planned

AU221644 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
19 Feb 88 p 2

[Pavel Kryl article in the "We Comment" column: "New Prospects For Czechoslovak-Algerian Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] The 3-day visit by Algerian Premier Abdelhamid Brahimi to Czechoslovakia reaffirmed that, despite the considerable geographical distance, our countries are close to one another. [passage omitted]

The greatest contribution of the Algerian premier's visit to the CSSR is, without doubt, the endeavor of the two partners to seek new forms of economic cooperation, and elevate it to a new, qualitatively higher level. What is involved, above all, is industrial cooperation and possibly joint ventures on third markets. Therefore, in the immediate future agreements will be worked out on cooperation between Czechoslovak and Algerian enterprises in engineering, metalworking industry, electronics, rubber-processing industry, and so forth. Exports of Czechoslovak turnkey plants have gone well; at the same time, it is necessary to seek possibilities for a balanced trade exchange, including the purchase of Algerian gas. [passage omitted]

Jakes Tours Central Bohemia Region

AU230930 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
17 Feb 88 p.2

[CTK report: "Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary, on a Working Visit to the Central Bohemian Region; Restructuring and Democratization—Our Road Forward"]

[Excerpts] Kladno—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, yesterday [16 February] visited the Poldi United Steel Works National Enterprise (Poldi SONP) in Kladno. [passage omitted] After inspecting the Poldi Iron Works, Comrade Milos Jakes met the representatives of the enterprise CPCZ organization and the economic management of the Poldi SONP, as well as leading officials of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) and Socialist Youth Union (SZM).

During their talk they frankly discussed the current production problems of the enterprise (last year it fulfilled all the eight main planned indexes, while increasing, for instance, its labor productivity only 1.8 percent). [passage omitted]

Milos Jakes expressed thanks for the opportunity to acquaint himself with the demanding work of the Kladno steel workers. In his statement he dealt in particular with the issues connected with the current stage of restructuring our society, with the democratization of its life, and with economic reforms. The CPCZ must be the motor of all changes, so that it can accomplish its revolutionary task as well it did as 40 years ago, at the time of the historic victory of February 1948.

Apart from other things, Milos Jakes stated that the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session has provided an answer to many topical questions; it is becoming obvious that its conclusions have been well received, because they are in harmony with the working people's views and needs. The goals have thus been set—now they must be followed by deeds which will ensure their realization. However, one should not wait for instructions from the center—restructuring must start in every enterprise, plant, operational unit, and workshop; everybody must begin with himself. In this context it is becoming obvious that in order to make decisions and take on responsibility more independence is required than that anchored in the law on state enterprises.

Work on restructuring the economic mechanism is progressing and its principles should become fully operational on 1 January 1991 at the latest. Organizations which already show their future organizational structure will be set up as state enterprises as early as 1 July 1988. The restructuring of central agencies (primarily aimed at rationalizing the central sphere) is also being prepared.

However, it is in the interests of all economic organizations to start preparing themselves throughly for the new conditions already now. This means that, apart from fulfilling the 1988 plan, they must introduce order into their norms and their wages policy, go over to cost accounting, ensure contractual relations, and consider where innovations should be made and where they should direct their future development.

Comrade M. Jakes also stressed the need for structural changes in our national economy. Its present structure is outdated and does not correspond either to our own needs, or to the needs of efficient export. Production must adjust itself far more flexibly to the market demand; it must speed up its use of new technologies. In this sphere we are not making enough use of the opportunities offered within the framework of CEMA. In conclusion M. Jakes replied to questions based on the discussion, emphasizing (inter alia) the demanding nature of tasks confronting our ideological front. It is essential for this front to make better use of new, rousing, and convincing forms and arguments, and to refrain from simplifying problems, because indiscriminate praise (or indiscriminate condemnation) can cause more damage than good.

Milos Jakes wished the Communists and people working in the Kladno steel works much success in implementing the general line of the 17th CPCZ Congress and expressed the conviction that the results of their work and their political activity will substantially contribute to the achievement of this success.

In the afternoon of the same day, Milos Jakes was welcomed by the people working in the Czech Shale and Coal Works in Nove Straseci. [passage omitted]

Following the visit to the plant, Comrade Milos Jakes met the party, trade union, and youth union officials, representatives of the economic management, and the leading staff of mining enterprises in the Kladno, Rakovnik, and Pribram districts for a discussion devoted to the accomplishment of tasks set by the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session. [passage omitted]

In his statement Comrade Milos Jakes expressed his appreciation for the work that is being accomplished by miners, whose approach to social needs has always been exemplary. Today, too, we need a bold and innovative approach to task accomplishment, so that we can again achieve the former rate of our national economy, speed up its dynamics, and accelerate society's economic and social development.

This strategic line, adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress, continues to be valid. It demands that we consistently follow the road of intensification, of more rapidly introducing scientific-technical results in practice, of structural changes in industrial production, and of broader involvement in the international division of labor. Part of this effort is the restructuring of our entire society, particularly of its economic mechanism. We want restructuring to replace the current, predominantly administrative method of, management by strengthening the independence and, simultaneously, the responsibility of the enterprise sphere.

Comrade Milos Jakes then said that it is essential to improve the way created assets are handled throughout the entire centrally managed economy, but also in the economy of national committees. He recalled that we still have many enterprises which are increasing their demands on central agencies, instead of searching for (and revealing) reserves in their own work. That is why restructuring is coupled with the principle of financial autonomy; what this means is that an enterprise will have only those means at its disposal which it creates itself.

In the interest of society, we must reduce the demands our production places on energy, Milos Jakes then said; we must therefore also cut down coal extraction (instead of increasing it). That is why it is also necessary to carefully weigh capital construction projects in the mining sphere, to see that they are effective, and to increase the extraction capacity of mines, while reducing the costs.

Structural changes are also inevitable, Milos Jakes continued; the same applies to the need to expand the division of labor within the framework of CEMA and to deepen the specialization and cooperation with socialist countries that are linked with these changes. Modernization, automation, and introduction of robots in the production sphere must become the basic trends; they will logically lead to manpower cuts and to the shifting of manpower, particularly to the services. At the same time, we want to reorganize the central agencies, cut down the administrative staff, introduce two-tier management, and so forth.

Restructuring therefore continues; but it cannot be carried out all at once, one should not be rash. For instance, the redistribution processes must continue for some time, so that we can establish the same conditions for all enterprises to implement the new economic rules. However, and here I agree with you, Milos Jakes stressed, we must not retreat from restructuring, we must bring it to its conclusion. There is no other way for us.

In the next part of his statement the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary replied to questions asked in the discussion, which concerned the problems of the Czechoslovak school system, environmental care, improving the flow of information to the public, differentiation in remuneration, and so forth.

Jakes Addresses Militiamen Meeting

LD221458 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1300 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] To mark the 40th anniversary of the victorious February and the birth of the people's militias, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium today received members of the People's Militias in Prague Castle. The meeting was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committtee and commander-in-chief of the People's Militias; Gustav Husak, president of the republic; and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Vasil Bilak, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, and Jozef Lenart. Also attending were candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Ignac Janak, and Frantisek Pitra. Also at the meeting were Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, CPCZ Central Committee Secretaries Mikulas Beno and Jindrich Polednik; and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat Zdenek Horeni and Marie Kabrhelova.

Comrade Milos Jakes in his speech recalled the historic victory of the Czechoslovak people over the reaction and stressed that the People's Militias had been the party's great support in the development of socialist revolution. Their resolute and disciplined action had contributed significantly to peacefully pushing through working people's demands by political means. Milos Jakes went on to point out that the People's Militias constitute an organized force devoted to socialism, which shares to a decisive degree in the building of socialism. He stressed that their support and help is important, especially at the present when our society has entered a qualitatively new stage, a stage of the realization of the acceleration of social and economic development. The basic prerequisite for attaining the aims set out is to ensure that the Communist Party is at the head of restructuring. Militiamen rank among the most advanced party activists. Milos Jakes voiced the conviction that they will serve as an example in asserting a high degree of exactingness in all of the party's activities, promoting democracy within the party, criticism and self-criticism, and strengthening comradely relations and communist ethics. Milos Jakes also voiced the conviction that they will share significantly in the mass political work among the people. Milos Jakes went on to say that our entire life, our aims and intentions are influenced by the international situation. We actively support the peaceful policy pursued by the Soviet Union aimed at asserting new political thinking in international relations and creating a comprehensive system of international security. Honest constructive work in the interest of speeding up the development of our socialist homeland and in the interest of strengthening the positions of socialism on the international scale is an example of realizing it. At the close of his speech Milos Jakes voiced the convinction that members of the People's Militias will continue to discharge in an exemplary way tasks set before them in combat and political training and that by their initiative and activity they will serve as an example at the work places.

Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak afterwards presented high state distinctions—the Order of Victorious February, the Order of Red Star, and the Order of Labor—to representatives of individual units and members of the People's Militias in recognition of their responsible and selfless activity in building and protecting socialism.

Dolezal Replies to Catholics' Petition

AU230841 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Vaclav Dolezal: "The State, Society, Churches, and Believers;" boldface passages as published]

[Text] **The process of restructuring society, upon which our society has embarked, affects all its constituent parts and all aspects of its life. An integral part of this process and, at the same time, a prerequisite for its success is the deepening of socialist democracy. The program of society's restructuring presupposes that the broadest popular masses come to understand it, adopt it as their own program, and actively and creatively take part in its implementation.**

The quest for this qualitatively higher level of bringing about people's unity calls for a more energetic elimination of what has become outdated and objectively stands in the way of further progress. This is true not only of questions concerning economic management and the guidance of society, but also of questions concerning the development of social awareness, both collective and individual. In this connection the 17th CPCZ Congress stressed that the struggle for the socialist activation of people's awareness cannot be a one-time campaign, but a purposeful, long-term, and tactfully conducted society-wide process, which will require a patient approach.

These maxims are of principal importance for the entire sphere of party and state policy. In living up to them, we must use as our point of departure a truthful assessment of contemporary reality and an equally realistic formulation of further tasks and targets. It is not by coincidence that we stress that we perceive man in all his complexity—that is, not only from the viewpoint of his material and, above all, social needs, but also considering his moral profile, and all the intricacy and heterogeneity of his spiritual life.

Fully-Fledged Citizens of Our Homeland [subhead]

Among the aforesaid realities of life is the fact that a considerable number of our fellow citizens are religious believers, and will continue to be in the future. Even though their number is progressively declining, this is a complicated and long-term process, which definitely cannot be "accelerated" by any administrative methods.

Our society is thus entering the process of society's restructuring not only with conscious exponents of the scientific world view, but, at the same time, with a number of people whose awareness is shaped by other influences as well, a considerable proportion of whom are believers. Our own experience fully confirms that their faith does not stand in the way of their active participation in building the socialist homeland and of their being upright citizens of their state; it confirms that it does not conflict with the socialist principles and prospects of society's restructuring.

Many church representatives carefully study developments in the USSR and the problems of development in our country and stress their positive attitude toward the processes that are connected with restructuring. They consider the fact that such emphasis is being placed not only on material development, but, notably, on social development, moral aspects, and the sphere of spiritual life to be an orientation toward which they maintain their specific approach, but which simultaneously is close to their way of thinking. From the position of theology they are trying to formulate their own positive approach toward the further development of socialist society.

In the entire process of restructuring and the further comprehensive development and upgrading of our socialist society we thus count on the active participation of believers as fully-fledged citizens of their homeland who enjoy equal rights. In full accordance with the CSSR Constitution, churches and religious communities, too, are and will continue to be an inseparable part of the structure of society and will have their legitimate place in it, guaranteed by law.

These facts were not and are not at odds with the political reality of our country such as it has come about in the course of history. The CPCZ, which bases its policy on the scientific view of the world, the Marxist-Leninist theory, has been and will remain the leading force in society. The communist party also makes no secret of the fact that it seeks an all-round promotion and society-wide dissemination of the scientific perception of natural and social phenomena. However, the assimilation of these conclusions is a matter of individual choice, which society and the state do not impose on anyone. The fact that there are more than 8,200 churches, chapels, and houses of prayer belonging to 18 churches and religious communities in Czechoslovakia, of which around 7,500 are Roman Catholic religious facilities, in which religious doctrines and notions of the world and society are regularly preached and disseminated, is thus not inconsistent with this policy.

The Czechoslovak socialist state fully respects the right of citizens to profess any faith or to be atheist, which is not at all commonplace in many countries. (One-sided emphasis on faith in the United States, for example, results in wide-ranging discrimination against atheists). Equally, our state also respects the right of believers to take part in religious services and perform religious rites, provided that this activity is not at variance with the law.

In Czechoslovakia it is unthinkable, for example, for some religious group to carry out activities deriving from its religious doctrine that would result in harm to the health of people, or even in loss of life, something which we witnessed in one Latin American country a few years ago. It is unthinkable for a church in the CSSR to preach the inevitability or even necessity of the nuclear destruction of mankind, something which is being done quite publicly by some so-called television preachers in the United States. In the CSSR it is inadmissible for someone to incriminate people, under religious motives, only because they actively participate in the work for world peace and for life on our planet.

The legal order, laws, and statutes apply to every citizen of our country. Incidentally, in the Final Act of the Helsinki CSCE all participating countries undertook to consistently respect the sovereign right of every state to have its own social system and legal order. The internal regulations of individual churches are not, and cannot be, the source of generally valid legislation. They can merely establish the specifics of individual churches and religious communities and must be in harmony with the legal order. Equality before the law has a universal character and neither individual citizens nor one church or another can be exempt from it.

The duty of the state and society to guarantee this general democratic right naturally also applies to cases such as that of the Roman Catholic Church, which has its directing center abroad, all the more so as this center is represented by one of the participants in the Helsinki Final Act. The state respects the position of the center abroad, which at the same time naturally presupposes that the church and its center abroad respect the valid legal order in the CSSR. This is of particular importance today when the principle of noninterference is one of the key maxims of the Helsinki Final Act and of new political thinking.

We Will Not Permit Misuse of Faith [subhead]

The historical experiences of our nations and of the Czechoslovak state with churches have not always been easy and free of problems. Let us recall the hundred years of counterreformation, accompanied by the forcible germanization of our nations, and the experience of Austro-Hungarian rule, over which the Vatican held its protective hand. Let us recall the experiences of the First Republic when the bourgeois leadership headed by President Masaryk often got into sharp conflicts with the Vatican, be it because of Hussite traditions or because of the liquidation [likvidace] of vast landed property owned by the church. The experiences of recent history are equally drastic. As is known, in Slovakia fascist rule over our nations assumed the form of a fascist puppet state headed by a priest and hailed as "God's precious gift," which enjoyed intensive backing from the domestic and world hierarchical structures of the Roman Catholic Church. In their glorious and heroic Slovak National Uprising the Slovak people gave a clear and unambiguous reply to that development. Yet the fact that the impact and the repercussions of these events are to be felt even today has been tellingly demonstrated by a recent study published in Slovak PRAVDA as well as in RUDE PRAVO. The response to these articles among believers fully confirms that the overwhelming majority of believers not only do not have, and do not want to have, anything in common with the posthumous children of the clericalist-fascist regime but, in particular, categorically reject their attempts to present themselves today as "representatives of Catholics."

The history of relations between the new socialist society and the church is also complicated and full of contradictions. Though the majority of churches, from the very beginning, gave their support to the new, socially equitable society, one part of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, acting on instructions from abroad, literally launched a battle against socialism. The socialist state was forced to take legitimate measures to protect the interests of the people. However, the socialist state never questioned the right of its citizens to religious faith, nor did it question the right of churches and religious communities to play their corresponding role. While, for example, extensive nationalization inevitably also affected the immense properties of the church, the state simultaneously guaranteed all churches and religious communities the provision of their economic needs in the form of salaries for all clergy, and the provision of free social and medical care, as well as by defraying the decisive costs connected with the repair of churches and church buildings and with the activity of churches in general. For many churches these state measures have become the guarantee for the material conditions for their very existence. Under current conditions all churches, including the Roman Catholic Church, are far from independent of this extensive participation of, and support from, the state.

What the socialist state did and does categorically stand up against from the beginning are the attempts, organized mainly from abroad, to turn the churches and religious faith into a political tool, into a means of attacking and struggling against the socialist social order. Believers of all churches are, first and foremost, ordinary citizens of their socialist homeland, and society as a whole is therefore interested in church representatives proceeding from this fact and combining their loyalty to the faith and the church with loyalty to their people, to their homeland.

State-church relations thus have **their own specific situation** in our state, which is distinct from the traditional "separation of church and state" in both capitalist and other socialist countries.

A Relationship of Goodwill and Understanding [subhead]

The church policy of the Czechoslovak socialist state is based on a maxim of understanding and the good will to not only respect the rights of believers and churches, but also to accommodate their wishes and to assist them in implementing their legitimate rights and needs. This concerns both religious premises and religious literature, be it domestically produced or imported, as well as other issues. There are 30 church periodicals in the CSSR, whose print run recently further increased. The number and the print runs of nonperiodical publications, scripts, and other printed matter needed for religious services are also growing. Prerequisites for a further improvement are being established, regarding, for example, the expansion of suitable printing capacities, the provision of the necessary amount of paper, but also official imports from abroad.

It needs to be frankly said that here and there are individuals who have not come to understand correctly the principles of the church policy of the state and have a fixed, stereotype view of churches and religion as expressions of some sort of "political opposition" against socialism. The remnants of an administrative approach in relation to the churches and religious communities still survive at some places. However, this is neither the policy of the state, nor of the party.

We realize that there are some problems that need to be tackled gradually. Today there is general agreement between the representatives of the state and the churches that all actually existing (and not some artificially construed) problems can be solved seriously, through negotiations at the same table. There is a great deal of evidence that this is precisely the way that leads to the elimination of shortcomings and to the solution of problems in the joint interest of the churches and society at large.

Advocates of 'Permanent War' [subhead]

It is not at all by chance that precisely in these conditions influential forces abroad—joined by certain individuals at home—stand up and, faced with these positive realities and prospects of further development, literally sound the alarm and make maximum efforts to prevent a favorable development of relations and a realistic solution of problems. Foreign anti-Czechoslovak propaganda daily churns out pieces of misinformation, attacks, and slanders; and some individuals at home willingly produce, very often for generous reward, all kinds of made-to-order documents, appeals, proclamations, letters, and the like. The composition of the organizers of these campaigns conspicuously reveals that they do not at all have in mind the interests of religion or the churches, let alone the interests of believers, but that they pursue aims of a purely political nature, that, to put it in simple terms, churches and religion are to be misused as a political instrument against socialism.

The attitudes and views of these people, but in particular their specific plans and intentions, are obvious from various, often carefully drawn up, documents that are propagated mainly abroad but also spread through illegal channels on the territory of our state. A graphic example is a document compiled by a group of people in the fall of 1985, with a certain Mr Vaclav Benda claiming the main authorship. Together with people like Zverina, Madr, Maly, Carnogursky, Miklosek, and others, he is one of the prominent representatives of the aforesaid circles today. The above-mentioned document openly dissociates itself from the activities of the official church and its hierarchy, postulating as its central slogan the demand "to raise not the cross of Christ, but the sword of Christ."

It must be clearly said that church representatives categorically dissociate themselves from that document, which demands the declaration of some sort of "holy war" on society, the state, and the people. The main role in this church concept, if you will excuse the use of this term, is to be played precisely by those groups of people which have already been mentioned—that is, in Slovakia primarily by the posthumous children and followers of the line of clericalist fascism, and in the Czech lands by various renegades who have renounced not only their nation, but also their own church.

Even today these people in particular are trying to continue to implement the programmatic targets of that document in every conceivable way. What else is the endeavor to completely ignore the current positive formation of good relations, established on a long-term basis, between the churches on the one hand and society and the state on the other, and instead to assert the line of confrontation—some sort of "permanent war," as the most reactionary centers in the West are fond of calling it. The basic purpose of this line is thus plain: The issue is not at all one of religious freedoms or the life of the churches; it involves exclusively political aims, the destabilization of the situation in Czechoslovakia, and the exploitation of every opportunity offered by our wide-ranging democracy in order to restore the positions of political clericalism.

The interests of these people are in such stark contrast not only with the needs of the further development of our socialist society and the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people, including believers, but also with the interests of the churches that they cannot run the risk of presenting them openly. That is the main reason why they are trying to present their destructive and militant aims as the interests of the church, or even believers, why they are using various tricks and frauds to try to create the impression of "broad-based support" from them.

These gentlemen like to brandish the Vatican's alleged favor. However, while they sever their ties with the domestic church at the point where the church assumes realistic positions, the same also holds true for their attitude toward the Vatican. As clergymen indignantly point out, many a bitter reproach has recently been addressed to the Vatican by these gentlemen, just because it has agreed to conduct serious talks with a CSSR Government delegation.

Campaign of Collecting Signatures [subhead]

One of the most frequent topics of Western broadcasts beamed to the CSSR recently has been an alleged campaign for the mass collection of signatures concerning relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, in particular. It is presented as an almost spontaneous action by believers themselves and the bourgeois information media are vying to outdo one another in the number of alleged signatures, the substantial part of which, however, has not been seen by anyone. **This action is not organized by the church** and the overwhelming majority of ordinaries and clergymen have dissociated themselves from it. The Voice of America has recently lifted the curtain a bit, revealing the backstage of this action. In the spirit of the worst traditions of the "cold war," it was giving detailed and specific instructions on how to proceed and listen to the "trustworthy people" (that is, trustworthy for the Voice of America) who organize the collecting of signatures.

The Voice of America has even, perhaps unintentionally, betrayed another important circumstance, the fact that in most cases the collecting of signatures does not at all take place under the so-called 31 demands. People are asked to sign a blank sheet of paper, which has the heading "Petition on the Initiative of Cardinal Tomasek." This only confirms that, in addition to various other deceptions and tricks connected with this action (for instance, entire groups of names are signed by the same hand, there are many sheets of signatures under the understandable demand to have a bishop, and the like), the absolute majority of people apparently sign in good faith something that differs from what their signatures are later used for.

The action itself has a rather bizarre origin—as an initiative of a certain Mr Navratil, whose notorious readiness to send out passionate protests at any time and against anything has been used by the aforementioned groups of persons for years.

This action would have obviously exhausted its potential soon, like the various "appeals from Catholic young," for example, which—according to Western propaganda—were supposedly solemnly adopted by the participants in a mass; yet neither the clergymen nor the congregants had the faintest about all this because, in reality, it was the work of a few individuals. [sentence as published]

A change occurred after the conclusion was reached in certain circles that Mr Navratil's compilation, if stylistically modified, could serve as the basis of broader political intentions. According to the claims of Western propaganda, Cardinal F. Tomasek was enlisted for this idea and backed the whole action with his letter. If this really is true, it places the author of the letter in a rather awkward situation. The aforesaid letter contains certain claims that are considerably at odds with reality, to put it mildly. It is claimed, for instance, that the cardinal did not receive replies to his letters to state agencies. The fact is that everything he ever submitted was discussed with him and some of his demands were dealt with by the Corps of Ordinaries, which did not always identify with them.

The impression is being created in the letter that the campaign is in harmony with our Constitution and the legal order, which is not true. Incidentally, one of the demands figuring in it is the demand for substantial changes in the Constitution. About what sort of harmony can one talk then? The letter also conveys the impression that the state and party bodies had been informed of the whole affair in advance! The truth is, once again, that no one had been supplied such information from the Cardinal. As to how widely the aforementioned Mr Navratil may be spreading the fruits of his work, that is hard to say.

What is to be said about the substance of the demands?

They include demands that look as if they did not originate at all with the domestic environment. Other issues are the subject of negotiations between the state and the churches and are being dealt with routinely. By the way, anyone can put his signature to the demand for religious freedom and the appointment of bishops, because these are demands with which the state has long since identified. The common denominator of all the demands is the "separation of state and church." We have already mentioned that the specific situation in the CSSR is the product of a whole historical development and today from the foundation of the understanding between the state as the representative of the interests of the working people and the churches.

It is no coincidence that letters are coming from believers who are better informed about the matter, saying that the author of such a demand apparently does not have any idea what he is talking about. All churches in Czechoslovakia are equal. For many of them such a step would essentially mean, inter alia, the elimination of the material base making possible the activity of the clergy and the churches' themselves. No wonder they are outraged by the attempts to speak in their name. As a matter of fact, the annual allocations from the state budget for the needs of the Roman Catholic Church total nearly Kcs200 million, not including the extra considerable cost of providing free social and health care for the clergymen. Naturally, the state and society, too, are interested in having the essence of existing mutual relations preserved.

The CSSR is a developed socialist country. It is a country of educated people known for their advanced culture, high standards, and creative thinking. It is a country of great emancipatory and democratic traditions. It is a community of people of diverse views, approaches, and also ideologies, united on the platform of the National Front, which is now taking up a process of truly historic significance—the process of restructuring society. It will require the overcoming of many obstacles and difficulties and will be connected with numerous discussions and disputes. And we all want this process to lead forward, toward a happier future for our people, atheists and believers alike.

Antifascists on 'Illegal Church Structures'

AU221516 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 Feb 88 p 1

["The Standpoint of the Central Committee of the Slovak Union of Antifascist Fighters on the Activation of Illegal Church Structures"]

[Text] Members of the Slovak Union of Antifascist Fighters have read closely the articles on the activation of illegal church structures, published in [Bratislava] PRAVDA on 10, 11, and 12 February this year.

The revival of the activity of these illegal church structures elicits great indignation among the overwhelming majority of our citizens, including believers. The attempts by the secret church to politically misuse the religious belief of ordinary believers against the socialist system of our state evokes great anger in us, and we categorically protest against them.

Our society guarantees religious freedom and creates conditions for satisfying the religious needs of believers. However, we cannot accept any attempt to politically misuse religion and the religious feelings of believers.

As active members of the resistance, we still have fresh in our memory the events which led to the birth of the secret church and the subsequent illegal church structures. Our nation has not forgotten how the Ludakist clericalist-fascist regime drove it into Hitlerite fascist bondage. This is attested to by more than ample evidence of despotism—mass graves, burned down villages, tens of thousands of people fallen or tortured to death. The Slovak people regard the reign of clericalist-fascism as the period of the greatest darkness in their history. In the Slovak National Uprising they freed themselves from the fascist yoke and, together with the fraternal Czech nation, embarked on the path of democratic social changes. Also believers, and even some clergymen, took part in it with weapon in hand. And precisely in the present period, when members of the discredited clericalist fascism were crawling into holes or fleeing into emigration, some of them began organizing the so-called secret church, which went into illegality to continue the compromised policy, and prevent our people from embarking upon the path of democracy, socialism and progress.

We follow the propaganda of the Western anticommunist centers which support the activity of the illegal church structures. These have the support and help of, in particular, the clericalist emigrees organized in the World Congress of Slovaks.

In the Slovak National Uprising our people put an end once and for all to all forms of clericalist fascism and its representatives. They made great sacrifices and underwent much suffering in order to win in the end the struggle for national and democratic freedom. They unequivocally identified themselves with coexistence with the fraternal Czech nation and the other nationalities which live on Czechoslovak territory. They have put an end to intolerance in respect of one's religion and world outlook. Therefore we will never permit anyone to try to develop any destructive activity in our country, or to start signature actions with an antisocialist orientation, or try to misuse the religious feelings of our believers for political objectives. We also express our categoric disagreement with anyone in our country who tries to push into churches' leadership people connected with the former clericalist fascism or the present day political clericalism.

The doors in our country are definitely closed to all fascist, counterrevolutionary, and antisocial clericalist forces. We, the antifascist fighters, will vigilantly guard them, and everyone who tries to open them will meet with resolute resistance from us.

Fojtik Attends Meeting To Mark Anniversary

LD222240 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1900 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] At the Klement Gottwald Memorial in (Nymburka), a manifestation of working people on the 40th anniversary of Victorious February was held. Jan Fojtik, candidate Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke there about the complicated journey toward the building of socialism in our country which, in spite of many problems and faults, led to important uplifts. February 1948, he said, is and will be a lasting inspiration for us, particularly today when our entire country is passing through a period in which all our might is concentrated on the restructuring of society and the economic mechanism and the deepening of socialist democracy.

Adamec Tours Litvinov Chemical Works

LD222241 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1900 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, today visited the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship chemical works in Litvinov. He saw there a recently completed cracking complex which makes it possible to convert the remains of heavy oil, so far used as heating oil, into raw material for petrochemical production. He discussed the restructuring of the economic mechanism with representatives of the enterprise, and with party, trade union, and youth organization officials. He emphasized that restructuring means to introduce order into everything, to safeguard the good quality and effectiveness of production, and to divide the profit according to merit.

Pitra Participates in Communists' Meeting

LD222242 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1900 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Excerpt] Frantisek Pitra, candidate Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, took part today in the annual meeting of Communists in the MIR united farming cooperative in the Strakonice area. [passage omitted]

Leaders Public Appearances 6-10 Feb

AU121316 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 8-11 February report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses): Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, received John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, in Bratislava on 6 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 88 p 2)

Jindrich Polednik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received Shewandagn Belete, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, in Prague on 8 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 88 p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, opened a military exhibition in Prague on 8 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 88 p 2)

Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and deputy premier of the Government of the Czech SR, attended a meeting of chairmen of regional national committees and the Prague mayor, in Prague on 8 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka received Henri Beyens, the new Belgian ambassador to the CSSR, in Bratislava on 8 February. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 88 p 1)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a ceremony honoring 26 work collectives in Prague on 9 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 88 p 2)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a visit to the editorial office of the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, in Prague on 10 February. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Feb 88 p 1)

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, was present when CSSR President Gustav Husak received new Jamaican, Mauritanian, and Bangladesh ambassadors, who presented him their credentials in Prague on 10 February. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Feb 88 p 1)

Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended a meeting of Communists from the Nehvizdy united agricultural cooperative, in Celakovice on 10 February. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Feb 88 p 2)

Ignac Janak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, paid a working visit to Nove Zamky on 10 February. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Sloak 11 Feb 88 p 2)

Josef Haman presented the Order of Labor to Jaromir Buchala, general director of the Agrozet enterprise of Brno, on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 10 February. (Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Feb 88 p 2)

11-15 Feb Appearances

AU191143 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12-16 February reports the following appearances of CSSR leaders (source, date, page number of each report in parentheses):

Jindrich Polednik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received a delegation of the Finnish Communist Party-Unity, led by Marja-Liisa Loyttyjarva, on 11 February (place not specified). (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 88 p 2)

Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, presented Major General Eng. Zdenek Horak, chief of logistics in the CSSR Ministry of National Defense, with the Order of Labor for long service and political engagement for the socialist society in Prague on 12 February. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Feb 88 p 2] On 15 February Minister Vaclavik, together with Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR deputy premier, were among the officials welcoming the arrival of Algerian Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi at Ruzyne Airport in Prague. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 88 p 1)

Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, received Bela Kovacs, outgoing Hungarian ambassador, on 12 February (place not given). [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Feb 88 p 2]

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Ion Patsan and Henri E. Beyens, Romanian and Belgian ambassadors to the CSSR respectively, in Prague on 12 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Feb 88 p 2)

Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission, spoke at the opening of the "February and Today" exhibition in Prague on 15 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 88 p 1)

Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, opened talks with Algerian Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi in Prague on 16 February; in the evening of the same day he spoke at a dinner given by him in the Algerian guest's honor in Prague. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 88 pp 1,7)

CSSR President Gustav Husak received Zdenek Dlesk, newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Nicaragua, in Prague on 15 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 88 p 1)

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, CPSL Central Committee first secretary, and commander of the People's Militia in the Slovak SR, together with Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovakia's premier, attended the opening of the "People's Militia—40 Years Guarding Socialism" exhibition in Bratislava on 15 February. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 88 p 2)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Central Committee secretary, chaired the national conference of party secretaries for industrial affairs in the Regional Committees and Prague and Bratislava City Committees, which was held in Prague on 15 February and also attended by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary. (Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 88 p 2)

'Dissident' Interviewed on Rights, Arrests

AU221459 Vienna PROFIL in German Nr 8/22 Feb 88 p 38

[Interview with Ralf Hirsch, a member of the "Initiative for Peace and Human Rights," who has been expelled from the GDR, by Ernst Schmiederer: "Glasnost and Perestroyka Are Foreign Words—date and place not given"]

[Text] PROFIL: On 13 February Dresden commemorated the Allied bombing of the city. At this rally, too, banners with unapproved slogans turned up on the fringe of the demonstration. Does the state leadership now have to grow accustomed to being provoked at every opportunity?

Hirsch: Of course. It has to expect that on certain holidays, such as on 1 May, such demonstrations will take place. But one has to say that the demonstrators are mainly people who want to leave the GDR. They have now learned that if one takes part in a demonstration, one quickly gets out of the country. The people who want to change the GDR from within, who want to stay in this country will have many difficulties. They will be hard put to keep their credibility.

PROFIL: You have been in the FRG since 5 February. The GDR authorities accuse you of having committed treason.

Hirsch: I was told that the GDR prosecutor general would call for a sentence of 8 years in prison for treason. And if the prosecutor general calls for this, no court in the GDR will reduce this sentence. The alternative was immediate exit to the FRG. I have never been told what the treason was about. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND did not speak about the suspicion of treason, but only of treason. Thus we were condemned from the domestic policy viewpoint.

PROFIL: Who are the people who work in the "Initiative for Peace and Human Rights" and why are you—contrary to almost all other groups of this kind—working outside the church?

Hirsch: This is a group of Christians, Marxists, different people, who are trying to work for a process of democratization in the GDR. This group was formed outside the Church 2 years ago to circumvent censorship exercised within the Church on the one hand, and, on the other, so as not to burden the church with problems that it cannot cope with.

PROFIL: What should be primarily changed in the GDR?

Hirsch: Basic rights, such as freedom of opinion, of the press, and the right of assembly, which are guaranteed by the constitutions, need to become reality. Laws, which do exist and some of which are not bad at all, can currently be applied just as the state organs wish: There is no reason given why one person is permitted to travel and another one is not.

PROFIL: In spite of the Russian buzz words of glasnost and perestroyka, TASS in a commentary has given its blessing to the harsh actions of the GDR authorities. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has reprinted this commentary enthusiastically.

Hirsch: Since the GDR is the economically most stable state in the entire East Bloc, it has a certain leeway. Therefore, the hardliners in the GDR are supported by Moscow. Up to now there have not been any signs of opening up in the GDR: Glasnost and perestroyka are foreign words, after all.

PROFIL: Now you have had your GDR citizenship taken away, you have an FRG passport. Is there any chance of your going back to the GDR again?

Hirsch: I have already tried this. I queued up at the Friedrichstrasse border checkpoint like everybody else. When I presented my passport, the man at the counter took the telephone and said: A Mr Hirsch is here. After half an hour a GDR border official told me, without giving any reason, that I was not permitted to enter the GDR.

PROFIL: You have been a critical voice in the GDR for almost 10 years. How many interrogations and arrests have you experienced to date?

Hirsch: Oh. Once I was imprisoned for 2 years on charges of subversion; I had distributed fliers against military service. But arrests for between 24 and 48 hours—well, there were at least 50 in the past 10 years. For years I was taken from my apartment or arrested off the street almost every Friday morning.

PROFIL: How do you feel in the West now?

Hirsch: I am faced with the problem that I am here and actually I wanted to stay in my country, to change something in the country where I lived. I do not feel well, at all. And, of course, I am sad. Now everything that I have been doing for years has been ruined.

Honecker, Stoph Fete Soviet Army Day

LD222247 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1801 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Berlin 22 Feb (ADN)—The Armed Forces of the first socialist state, together with the fraternal armies, today ensures the reliable protection of the states and peoples united in the Warsaw Pact, stresses a state telegram from Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph to the Soviet party and state leaders on the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. In order to ward off the threat of a devastating nuclear inferno and to ensure a peaceful future for mankind it is of the greatest importance that, thanks to the strength of the USSR, it has been possible to establish and preserve a strategic military balance.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles makes possible a start to nuclear disarmament and is a real gain for world peace, the leading representatives of the GDR stress in the telegram of congratulations. It is a result primarily of the bold approach, full of initiative, of the USSR to the solution of the questions of mankind, which the GDR supports through many activities within the framework of the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community of states.

Together with them, we regard the 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons with adherence to the ABM treaty as a particularly important stage on the road to creating a world free of nuclear weapons, the telegram says. Constant consolidation of the indestructible alliance with the party and the country of Lenin, increasingly close collaboration in all spheres of social life, and the strengthening of socialist society remain the priority tasks.

Krenz Greets Celebration

LD202236 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 20 Feb 88

[Text] SED Politburo Member Egon Krenz today conveyed to the High Command of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany fraternal militant greetings from the party and state leadership. At a ceremony to mark the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army, held in Wuensdorf, he noted that the common peace program of the Warsaw Pact states is beginning to bear fruit. Through its policy of dialogue the GDR is participating actively and constructively in placing peace on a stable basis. The agreement of the GDR and CSSR with the USSR for the withdrawal of the medium-range nuclear missiles deployed on their territory before the Washington agreement came into force accords fully and completely with this.

Honecker Greets Finnish President Koivisto

AU181447 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 88 p 1

["ND"-attributed item: "Congratulations to Dr Mauno Koivisto on Reelection; Telegram from Erich Honecker to the President of Finland"]

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following congratulatory telegram to Dr Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland:

On the occasion of your reelection as president of the Republic of Finland, I convey to you sincere congratulations and best greetings, and also on behalf of the GDR State Council and people.

The GDR respects the foreign political course for freedom, disarmament, and security which is pursued by Finland. I am sure that in the future this policy, aiming at detente and cooperation, will also be an important pillar in international coexistence. Permit me to express my satisfaction with the productive, friendly relations between the GDR and the Republic of Finland, and with the far-reaching concord of our opinions on the most important topical questions of our time.

May the trustful cooperation between our states, in the shaping of which you, Excellency, have an outstanding share, also serve our peoples and Europe in future.

Please accept my best wishes for your responsible activity, for the happiness and prosperity of the Finnish people, and for your personal well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Environmental Protection Pact Signed

LD182242 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1222 GMT 18 Feb 88

[Text] Helsinki, 18 Feb (ADN)—A program for cooperation between the GDR and Finland in the sphere of environmental protection up to 1990 was signed in Helsinki on Wednesday evening. Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Minsiters and minister for environmental protection and water management, and Kaj Barlund, Finnish minister for the environment, pointed out at the signing that this cooperation is beneficial to both countries and has an advantageous effect on the ecological situation in the entire Baltic region. it is in accordance with the Helsinki Final Acts and an example of the extensive possibilities for cooperation between states of differing social orders.

The extensive and detailed program provides among other things, for the exchange of information and research and for coordinated measures in the protection of water expanses from pollution. In this, closed-water circuits and modern processes for recovery of materials are to be used, and damage caused to agriculture by chemicals is to be reduced.

In the sphere of clean air, the program involves, among other things, new methods to reduce or totally eliminate noxious substances. In waste-product management, prominence is given to harmless elimination, particularly of toxic waste, to the utilization of other types of waste and of waste-free technological processes. Special measures also include care of the countryside and protection of flora and fauna.

During his 5-day stay in the Finnish capital, Minister Reichelt also held talks at leading scientific and economic institutions, the Finnish Research Center, the Espoo coal power station, the Ivo power station, and the Hyrylae waterworks. His particular interest was attracted to new processes to reduce sulfur dioxide, nitrogen, and metal-bearing dusts in combustion processes, sewage treatment, and the preparation of drinking water.

Lebanese Paper Interviews Oskar Fischer

NC181005 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic
17 Feb 88 pp 1, 7

["Exclusive" interview with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer by AL-SAFIR correspondent Ghassan Abu Hamad in Berlin on 16 February]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] Abu Hamad: The Soviet proposal for convening an international conference on the Middle East is receiving an increasing response from the world public. Do you believe that such a conference could possibly be convened in the not-too-distant future? What steps are the socialist states, including the GDR, taking within the framework of the United Nations and the UN Security Council to bolster this proposal? In your opinion, what are the present obstacles facing the convening of such a conference?

Fischer: A just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East can only be achieved by peaceful means; namely, through negotiations. The GDR supports this even at the United Nations. Therefore, the GDR supports the Soviet proposal presented in 1984 regarding the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations and with the participation of the PLO, Israel, and all the other parties concerned. Such a conference might have to adopt binding resolutions on all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestinian issue, Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967, and the establishment of guarantees to ensure the right of states in the region to peaceful existence and development. The [Soviet] proposal received an extensive international response within the framework of the 42d UN General Assembly session. At the Amman summit last November, the Arab leaders for the first time expressed their joint support for convening such a conference. Some leaders in Western Europe, the United States, and even in Israel also have expressed their support. These leaders think realistically and are showing increasing interest in the conference. However, it appears that there are some influential forces which are not interested in a just and lasting settlement of the conflict.

Meanwhile, the recent developments in the Israeli-occupied territories indicate that these circles [not further identified] have found themselves in a hopeless political situation as a result of their expansionist stands. Their only way out of this situation is through a radical change of policy. Preparatory consultations within the framework of the UN Security Council are bound to help in this regard. For this reason, we support the Soviet proposal on convening a Security Council session at the level of foreign ministers in this regard.

Relations With Israel [subhead]

Abu Hamad: Israeli media have carried rumors concerning the possibility of normalizing or restoring diplomatic relations soon between Israel and the socialist countries. Do you envisage a possible establishment of diplomatic relations between the GDR and Israel in the near future? What are the conditions that the Israeli State must meet for this to happen? Is it possible to regard the appointment of a rabbi from the United States for the first time as head of the Jewish community in the GDR as an indication of rapprochement with Israel?

Fischer: No relations exist between Israel and the GDR. Israel is one of the few countries with which the GDR does not maintain any diplomatic relations and we see no basis for the establishment of such relations as long as Israel continues to adopt a policy toward the Arab countries that contravenes international law and ignores the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. In this connection, the GDR's position is in keeping with UN resolutions.

As to Rabbi Neuman's appointment, it was done by the association of Jewish groups in the GDR. His appointment has been welcomed.

Abu Hamad: The Gulf war and the increasing U.S. intervention in this conflict pose a major threat to peace in the Arab region. What is the GDR's position on this conflict? In your opinion, what are the prospects for ending the conflict?

Fischer: The Iraq-Iran war causes new casualties daily, in addition to exorbitant material losses. It also weakens the two countries' energies for economic and social development. The Gulf conflict poses a permanent threat that is not merely confined to the Gulf states' security. While attacks on commercial ships in the Gulf have increased, NATO member countries have expanded their military presence to a degree way out of proportion to their declared intention of defending commercial ships in the Gulf. This has increased the dangers threatening peace. It is urgently required that Iran and Iraq halt all military operations and negotiate a political settlement of the disputed issues between them. All other countries are likewise urged to abstain from any action that might heighten or expand the conflict.

The GDR regards UN Security Council Resolution 598 as an appropriate basis for a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict and the lessening of regional tension. The UN secretary general's mediation in this regard can serve this purpose. At the same time, the security of shipping in the Gulf can be improved by adopting a

Soviet proposal providing for the replacement of all foreign warships by a UN fleet. This matter requires appropriate action by all concerned parties.

Solution in Lebanon [subhead]

Abu Hamad: For 12 years now, Lebanon has been the victim of a conspiracy which inflicted the severest of pains on its population, and Israel is still occupying a portion of its land. How do you view the prospects of help and backing from the GDR to Lebanon in order to consolidate its state power and reconstitute its independence?

Fischer: In international forums, including the United Nations, the GDR supports the legitimate drive of the Lebanese people to attain national unity and to preserave the integrity of their territories and the sovereignty of their state. This applies to Lebanon's demand that Israel pull out its forces from its south. The GDR believes that the Lebanese should reach an understanding among themselves on ways to resolve their country's problems and establish political reconciliation. The GDR also denounces all imperialistic attempts to interfere in Lebanon's internal affairs.

I am confident that the enhancement of GDR-Lebanese relations would promote the interests of both our nations.

Abu Hamad: Is there any possibility of tangible help for the struggle of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories?

Fischer: The mounting unrest and the general uprising of the Arab Palestinian people against Israel occupation has proved to all that the attempts to overlook the Palestinian issue over the last 20 years have not succeeded.

The GDR stands firmly beside the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle, under the leadership of the PLO, to achieve their national rights. The GDR denounced the measures taken by the Israeli occupation forces in violation of international law. We back the Palestinians and continue to act, within our means, to alleviate the suffering inside the occupied territories.

Abu Hamad: The U.S.-USSR INF treaty and the extensive measures which are planned for the near future have created an atmosphere of detente in Europe that contrasts with the unease felt by the countries struggling for their national liberation and by the national liberation movements who fear that the socialist countries may scale down their support for them. Is this a possible outcome of the detente?

Fischer: The historic importance of the treaty, which led to the scrapping of U.S. and USSR medium-range missiles, is obvious to all. For the first time, it has become possible to break the vicious circle of the arms race and to reach agreement on the dismantling of one entire kind of weapon of mass destruction. In the space age, the nuclear age, more weapons do not mean more security. Diverse, and even adverse, ideologies should not remain an obstacle to political cooperation. This, to my understanding, could benefit developing nations and national liberation movements. I am actually pondering the idea of a conference for disarmament and development. The savings attained in disarmament could be channeled to tackle the massive problems in the developing nations. In addition, progress in disarmament furnishes an international climate which is favorable to the achievement of a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts and to the solution of mankind's worst problems.

The socialist bloc countries, including the GDR, support peace and disarmament. They also support the just struggle which peoples are waging for national independence, particularly political and economic independence. This principle of the socialist foreign policy is reflected in their strategic programs and proposals. I draw attention to the Berlin summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact members in May 1987, which put forward comprehensive proposals on overcoming backwardness, establishing a New World Economic Order, and settling regional conflicts. Solidarity with the struggle of peoples for their political and economic rights remains one of the principles of the GDR's foreign policy, because it is a sentimental matter for our people.

The Perestroyka [subhead]

Abu Hamad: The new policy being pursued by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, which is linked with the two words "Glasnost" and "Perestroyka," has been received with varying degrees of enthusiasm in the various socialist countries. There have been specific changes in the domestic and foreign policies of the GDR. It is particularly the youths in your country who are pinning much hope on the Soviet leader's policy. Even if we assume that the domestic and foreign [as published] development andthe current conditions in the GDR are different in many ways from those existing in the Soviet Union how, in your opinion, will the new Soviet approach affect the GDR's policy?

Fischer: In the spirit of internationalist ties and brotherly solidarity, the GDR people are following up the Soviet Communist Party's struggle to implement the restructuring program. In the implementation of their joint aims, the mastering of the scientific and technological revolution in the GDR and the Soviet Union for the benefit of their two peoples and for linking it in a better way to the characteristics of the socialist society, assumes greater importance. In this process, the success which one country acheives is regarded as a success for the other. The implementation of the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress on the completion of the socialist social system in the Soviet Union and the imposition of a new way of thinking in the world assumes decisive importance not only for strengthening the USSR but also for all socialist bloc countries. Development in the various socialist countries differs in many aspects according to their specific national circumstances. Each country must find the most effective methods for it in its socialist course. Exchanging experiences in all aspects of social life makes it possible to benefit from the successes and experiences of the fraternal states in order to create a good socialist social system. Implementation of the resolutions issued by the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which drew up the general outlines for the development of our society, constitutes the GDR's specific contribution for opening the way to the merits of socialism and its driving forces.

Honecker Congratulates Iran on National Day

AU161440 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed greetings and congratulations to Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni and Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the national day of the country. In the telegrams the conviction is expressed that in future, too, the relations between the GDR and Iran will be further deepened for the benefit of the two peoples and a peaceful future for mankind.

On the same occasion Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, congratulated Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi.

Central Committee Greets Spanish CP

AU221255 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 88 p 2

[ND report: "SED Greetings to 12th Congress of Spanish Communist Party"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings message, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the 12th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party in Madrid:

Dear Comrades: On behalf of the Communists of the GDR, the SED Central Committee conveys fraternal greetings to the delegates of your congress and all members of the Spanish Communist Party.

In your consistent struggle for the vital interests of the workers class and all working people of Spain, you can rely on our party's firm support and internationalist solidarity.

Five decades ago German and Spanish Communists fought shoulder to shoulder with antifascists from many countries for freedom and democracy. Today our two parties, together with all forces of reason and realism, are struggling to preserve life on our planet. Mankind gathers fresh hope from this worldwide struggle. Owing to the constructive peace policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states, and the active commitment of the worldwide peace movement, the first encouraging results have been obtained in the sphere of disarmament. The agreement between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of the their intermediate-range missiles testifies to this.

Our parties concur that further steps can and must now be taken without delay on the way that brings us closer to the idea of a nuclear-free world. This is why now more than ever before all forces of peace must increase their efforts. Therefore, we have great respect for the commitment of the Spanish Communists within the peace movement of your country. The GDR has made a sizable contribution to realizing the principle of achieving more security through fewer weapons. Now we are in favor of the GDR and FRG becoming nuclear-free zones. Our proposals are in line with our historic obligation on the dividing line between the social systems not to permit that war will ever again start from German soil. The GDR will continue to do everything that life on our European continent will be determined by disarmament, dialogue, and good-neighborly cooperation and not by confrontation.

We are aware that a secure peace requires strong socialism. On the other hand we need a peaceful environment for our construction work and for social progress. On the basis of this unshakable link we have developed our far-reaching challenging plans for the further shaping of our developed socialist society. The working people ensure the stable and dynamic development of our republic through great achievements. We closely link the mastering of the scientific technological revolution with social protection and living socialist democracy for and with the citizens of our country.

Dear Comrades: We wish your party congress much success. May its resolutions give fresh impulses to the unification process among the Spanish Communists and contribute to increasing the fighting strength of the Spanish Communist Party in the interest of the working people of your country. With communist greetings,

SED Central Committee E. Honecker, general secretary.

Central Committee Greets Paraguayan CP

AU221420 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 88 p 2

[ND report: "GDR Communists to Paraguayan Communist Party; SED Telegram on 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party"]

[Text] The SED Central Committee has sent the following congratulatory telegram signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party:

The SED Central Committee conveys to you and all Paraguayan Communists most cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of your party.

The founding of the Paraguayan Communist Party was a significant milestone in the struggle for the social and national interests of the workers class and the entire working people of your country. Neither terror nor persecution and decades on deepest illegality were able to brake the steadfastness of the Paraguayan Communists. Like other patriotic forces in Paraguay, your party resolutely works for a democratic alternative in your country.

The anniversary is an obligation for us to emphatically demand once again information about the fate of the legendary workers leader and renowned internationalist, Comrade Antonio Maidana, first secretary of your party's Central Committee, who was abducted by the dictatorship, and the immediate release of all imprisoned patriots.

On behalf of the Communists in the GDR, we reaffirm our firm internationalist support and solidarity for your courageous struggle aimed at eliminating one of the last hated dictatorships in Latin America and the restoration of democratic rights for the Paraguayan people.

With communist greetings, SED Central Committee E. Honecker, general secretary.

CC Message on Civil Defense Anniversary

AU161915 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Feb 88 p 4

[Central Committee message to the civil defense members and voluntary helpers: "Thanks for the Exemplary Service for the Benefit of Our People; Greetings Message of the SED Central Committee on the 30th Anniversary of GDR Civil Defense"]

[Text] Dear civil defense members and voluntary helpers:

On the occasion of the 30th GDR civil defense anniversary the SED Central Committee conveys to you most cordial greetings and congratulations.

Under the leadership of the workers class party, civil defense has developed into a reliable and indispensable component of our socialist society. With its preventive activities for the protection of the population and the national economy from catastrophes and damage, it makes an important contribution toward implementing our economic and social policy. In the difficult struggle against the inclemencies of the weather you have especially proven your increased efficiency in complicated test situations. With good reason your work is highly recognized by the citizens of our country.

The SED Central Committee thanks all civil defense members and voluntary helpers for their achievements and their exemplary unselfish service according to their humanist assignment to protect the people and to help them.

The further shaping of the socialist society in the GDR, which is linked to the dynamic development of our national economy, makes new and higher demands on civil defense regarding the constantly increasing national property. The standard for all efforts to strengthen our worker-peasant state and its preparedness for defense is to be at any time ready and able to protect the life and property of the population and to guarantee a high degree of safety in production.

The friendly cooperation and the regular exchange of experiences with the civil defense organs of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states are an integral component of our policy to further continuously extend the fraternal ties with the countries of socialism.

The Central Committee is firmly convinced that in the future, too, the civil defense members and voluntary workers of civil defense will be active in the interest and for the benefit of our people with utmost working morale and high efficiency, and will trigger new initiatives in socialist competition to fulfill the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

We wish you new successes for your responsible activity and health, creative vigor, and the best for your personal lives.

With socialist greetings, SED Central Committee E. Honecker, general secretary.

The GDR Council of Ministers also conveyed a greetings message.

Leaders Public Appearances 4-9 February

AU121439 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 5 to 10 February reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

The following GDR leaders personally presented birthday congratulations to Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt SED Bezirk leadership, in Berlin; date not given: Politburo members and candidate members Guenter Mittag, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Schabowski, Margarete Mueller, and Werner Walde. (5 February, p 2)

The following GDR leaders visited the Erfurt Electronics Works on 4 February: Politburo members and candidate members Guenter Mittag, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Siegfried Lorenz, Guenter Schabowski, Maragrete Mueller, and Werner Walde. (5 February, p 3)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a meeting of antifascist resistance fighters in Berlin on 4 February. (5 February, p 1)

Army General Friedrich Dickel, head of the People's Police and minister of the interior, presented the "Banner of Labor" Order to the Officers College of the Interior Ministry in Dresden on 6 February. (8 February, p 2)

Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, awarded the "Star of Friendship Among Peoples" Order in silver to the Swedish industrialist Fredrik Wehtje in Berlin on 4 February. (5 February, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented awards to members and voluntary workers of the Civil Defense in Berlin on 4 February. (5 February, p 6)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR side of the GDR-Romanian Economic Committee, received Serban Teodorescu, minister of machine building industry of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Berlin on 8 February. (9 February, p 5)

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, presented awards to meritorious members of the Ministry of State Security in Berlin on 4 February. (5 February, p 2) Egon Krenz also attended a farewell ceremony for the GDR Olympic sports team at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 7 February. (8 February, p 1)

Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Keizo Kimuara, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Japan, for a farewell visit in Berlin on 8 February. (9 February, p 2) Werner Krolikowski also received He Dongchang, first deputy chairman of the PRC National Academic Degrees Commission, in Berlin on 9 February. (10 February, p 5)

Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee, attended a meeting of cooperative peasants in Boldekow in Neubrandenburg Bezirk on 5 February. (6-7 February, p 1)

Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited the Institute for Mining Safety in Leipzig on 8 February. (9 February, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, visited construction collectives in Berlin, Dresden, and Magdeburg on 5 February. (6-7 February, p 8) Guenter Schabowski also received Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany in Berlin on 9 February. (10 February, p 8)

Reportage of Gromyko Visit to Budapest

Preview Discusses Visit

LD230915 Budapest MTI in English 0016 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—Before the visit to Hungary of Andrey Gromyko, Tuesday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries an editorial, which states:

'The main directions of the current restructuring in the Soviet Union coincide with the endeavors of our economic and social programme and provide new prospects for the exploration and successful utilization of reciprocally beneficial possibilities and new solutions in bilateral relations.

'True as it is that the direction, nature and framework of cooperation are determined at summit and high-level meetings, it is likewise a fact that its content is realized in everyday work. Personal acquaintance and joint work are not commonplace but the animating factors of relations on all levels.

'In the person of Andrey Gromyko, who is to meet the invitation of the HSWP CC and the Presidential Council, we are to greet an old friend in Hungary. As a foreign minister for more than 25 years, Gromyko visited Hungary on several occasions and became familiar with our affairs. In the capacity of the president of the Supreme Soviet, Gromyko pays his first foreign visit to Hungary. It may not seem to be a distortion in self-evaluation to say that this premier is also a recognition of our efforts and initiatives, and reflects the well-intentioned interest of the Soviet leading bodies in our country.

'It also mirrors close personal relations that direct cooperation has been developing between our country and four republics of the Soviet Union. Direct relations have been established between 116 Hungarian and 116 Soviet enterprises, and five joint ventures set up in recent years. Cultural cooperation plays an important part in this process and experiences a renewal as well. The guest performances of theatres and art ensembles and the exchange of exhibitions are to continue, relations between the institutes of higher education be modernized, and a centre of Hungarian studies organized at the Uzhogorod University. A Hungarian cultural and information centre is to open in the Soviet capital. The related agreement is to be signed during Andrey Gromyko's visit which is to start today.'

Arrival Noted

LD231138 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Excerpts] The most important domestic news is that at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Presidential Council, Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived in our country on an official friendly visit. Gabor Izbeki reports from Kossuth Square:

Andrey Gromyko was greeted with the pomp due to a head of state by Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, here on Kossuth Square. This is Andrey Gromyko's first trip abroad since leaving his post of foreign minister in 1985 to become chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [Gromyko's biography omitted]

In our country, Andrey Gromyko is to hold talks primarily with Karoly Nemeth, mainly about the way Soviet-Hungarian ties can expand in light of the Soviet restructuring begun in 1985, by taking a fuller account of the two sides' interests. The specific forms of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation will be discussed by members of his delegation and Hungarian experts.

It is an indication of the topics to be discussed that in the Soviet president's entourage is Aleksey Antonov, deputy prime minister, and also the chairman of the Soviet Writers' Union and the head of the Moscow World Economy Research institute.

Andrey Gromyko will also hold short exchanges of views with Janos Kadar and Karoly Grosz.

Officials Greet Gromyko

LD231444 Budapest MTI in English 1240 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—Soviet head of state Andrey Gromyko, who arrived in Budapest Tuesday morning, and his party were ceremoniously received in front of parliament building, adorned with flags. The guard of honour of the Hungarian People's Army lined up for the ceremony. Andrey Gromyko was met by Rezso Trautmann, vice-president of the Presidential Council, Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly, Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry, Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education, Pal Ivanyi, president of the Metropolitan Council, and other leading personalities of Hungarian political, economic and cultural life. Also present were leaders and members of the diplomatic corps in Budapest.

Accompanied by Karoly Nemeth, Andrey Gromyko received the report of the commander of the guard of honour, then the Soviet and the Hungarian national anthems were played, and the two state leaders inspected the guard. The Soviet guests then left for their residence.

Politburo's Berecz Reviews Gorbachev's Book

AU221635 Budapest PARTELET
in Hungarian No. 2/Feb 88 pp 27-34

[Article by MSZMP Politburo Member Janos Berecz: "New Political Thinking—on Mikhail Gorbachev's Book"; all footnotes are taken from Gorbachev's book "Restructuring, New Thinking for Our Country and the World"]

[Text] The socialist countries have reached the stage in the development of their society where it is particularly important to think courageously and creatively in order to solve their problems and overcome their difficulties. At this stage, the idea that the general current and dynamics can only lead us all in one direction is no longer valid. We have come to a crossroads where our classical "maps" are only sketchy. We can make mistakes because we are not infallible, but we have to correct our mistakes by thoroughly analyzing our experiences, and by modifying and correcting the direction and the methods.

Our current situation and problems give thousands of people the feeling of insecurity one experiences when following an unknown road. There is much time marking, waiting, and indecision, yet this particular historical situation requires a firm and and up-to-date way of thinking and leadership based on theoretical training. No wind is good enough for an aimless sailor—the ancient people used to say. This is still valid today: There is a need for leaders who courageously seek the tasks, possibilities, and goals, and who search for the road leading to all these; leaders who are not only expert propagandists when they have to deal with the masses and have to make them accept the new ideals, but also initiators and organizers of theoretical thinking who set a successful common thought pattern into motion, and do this in a productive way. Such leaders fulfill the requirements of our age and their style is in harmony with the style required by our age.

Therefore, I call everyone's attention to Mikhail Gorbachev's book: "Restructuring, New Thinking for Our Country and the World." However, I advise readers not to regard this book as some sort of "socialist scripture." This is not a book to be quoted, but to make the reader acquainted with the author's spirit, intellectual world, and his way of thinking. The Soviet politician does not prescribe compulsory tasks and does not regard himself as the owner of the only real truth to be followed. On the contrary, the contents of this book are an eloquent testimony to the fact that socialism cannot be constructed on the basis of stereotypes and patterns to be blindly followed. Individual peoples and nations can progress only by taking into consideration their geographical and historical faculties and by respecting their national traditions and characteristics. If a party or a leader disregards all these, he can lead his people into a deadend street and can cause their policy to fail. Historical experiences prove this. These experiences, however, represent also a common source for our knowledge; they can save us a lot of suffering involved in the labyrinth of attempts and failures and also a lot of creative energy lost in changing directions.

Historical Turning Point [subhead]

Social and historical progress has never been straight, and mankind has always progressed via winding roads and detours, and then by coming to a sudden halt. This was true of every major change. The bourgeois reorganization that emerged into capitalism in England, France and Germany was accomplished as a result of several revolutions and revolutionary reform processes. In France, for example, 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1870-1871 were years of revolution, but we must also include the years of comprehensive reforms and of frequently changing republican constitutions.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the socialist society also emerges and renews itself by means of revolutions and reform processes that are equivalent to revolutions. One of the subtitles of the book, "Restructuring Is Revolution," also demonstrates this; and socialism, just like other social formations, emerges from many experiments too.

Reviewing the lessons of history, the author does not identify himself with everything in his own country's history. He uses bitter words in remembering, for example, the violations of law carried out in the second half of the thirties and the slow-down mechanism that started in the seventies, the latter also as personal experiences. But the author accepts and regards revolutionary transformation as historically necessary—revolutionary transformation like socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture which were accompanied by severe ordeals.

Gorbachev quotes Lenin's words: "The kind of revolution that, following its victory, can be considered as finished and one can rest on one's laurels, simply did not occur in history." (page 45) In the wake of Gorbachev's analysis, it is impossible not to think of our own dilemmas and of the ideological issues that emerged in connection with the interpretation, justification, and validity of revolutions and reforms. There are people who are alarmed even by the thought that revolution needs revolutionary transformation. Others tend to reject the very notion of reform by identifying it with reformism which the revolutionary workers movement correctly discarded at a certain time and under certain historical condition. This concept is ideologically like the one that regards socialism as some sort of predetermined theoretical pattern and which claims that it is the task of the society to automatically implement the directives provided by those who know this pattern. This, however, is not the social philosophy of socialism.

The principle of prestige is foreign to healthy socialism, and therefore, democracy is inseparable from socialism. Reform and democracy are interdependent, not only because social reform covers the broadening and accomplishment of democracy but also because democracy is the medium in which—at least in our age—accepted ideas of a useful and advancing reform can emerge, ideas that can, therefore, be implemented. Theory and guidance give shape to reform but do not "disseminate" it in the public thinking but shape reform by coexisting with this public thinking.

The advancement and failure of the reforms which started in the fifties and the sixties, when the determined—or often only imagined—methods of acceleration were distorted into becoming the methods of restraint, is probably one of the most puzzling and debated processes in the history of the Soviet Union. Today, this process is explained by the fact that, at that time, the reforms met with strong resistance from the guiding apparatus. This danger is also present today. We would not be very realistic if we thought that it is possible to avoid various signs of resistance and confrontation. Reform involves political struggle. The author provides ample quotations from the numerous letters he has received, and all these quotations show that the author of every letter refers to this resistance—in mild or harsh tones—and complains about local strong men, bureaucrats, privileged people, and idlers. The first line of fault has, in the meantime, appeared in the party leadership that the book is still depicting as totally united: Boris Yeltsin, who criticized the slow pace of the process of restructuring and renewal, represented something that is still beyond the pale.

The existence of socialism, pluralism, and the undisturbed activity of the mechanism of this pluralism are important conditions for avoiding sudden stops and detours. (It is, probably, useless to stress that the author did not refer to the dubious model of bourgeois pluralism, of the multiparty system, when speaking about pluralism deriving from different interests prevailing in society.) The party is the most important pillar of this pluralism and publicity provided by the mass media plays a decisive role in this.

Reorganization within the party is also the major guarantee also for reorganization of information. Everyone interested—and not only in the Soviet Union but all over the world, including Hungary—can daily discover and follow this process of reorganization. And this is only the beginning! The large organs of public administration and people's movements—organs with a great revolutionary past—the soviets, mass organizations, mass movements, and last but not least, control institutions of socialist pluralism like, Public Prosecutor offices, and generally the strictly independent justice administration organs that comply only with the law. These institutions must provide guarantees against undeserved privileges in the areas of safeguarding legality, practicing citizens' rights, and fulfilling obligations.

Socialist pluralism—but we can also say that socialist democracy—creates a framework for the free development of teeming intellectual life and for the creative activity of the intelligentsia. This is also true of Hungary. It is worth mentioning the fact that, among the various strata of the Soviet society, we can read most detailed accounts about the intelligentsia in the book. This is justified both by the increasing role played by the intelligentsia and by its previously secondary role in the Soviet development process. It is worth quoting literally one of the relevant passages in the book in order to demonstrate the drama of historical magnitude suffered by this strata of the society: "A considerable part of the intelligentsia, including the democratic intelligentsia which condemned the tsarist regime and even fought against it, got scared of the revolution and drifted abroad together with the wave of white emigration, and thus enriched other nations with its talent and knowledge. This was a big loss for the young Soviet society. The intelligentsia, including the bolshevik intelligentsia within the party, suffered great—often irremediable losses in the thirties...." (page 74).

It has become an increasingly formulated requirement in our domestic debates to create better conditions for the intellectuals once their contribution to scientific and technological progress and to organizing social cooperation become decisive. Our public thinking, however, is still marred here and there by suspicions of the intelligentsia, although today's intelligentsia is already a product of the desired and supported social mobility, and in spite of the fact intellectual life and intellectual work has become a stage of development for the entire strata of workers.

The positions of the various trends of the creative intelligentsia in the Soviet Union confront each other and become crystalized in stormy debates that can also be followed by the public at large. An important requirement is to avoid new monopolies replacing the old ones. The issue of to be or not to be in the sciences, literature, and the arts should be decided by the free competition of various schools and trends. It was, therefore, justified and understandable that strong criticism was directed at the literary, artistic, and scientific monopolies and their defenders at the congresses of various artistic associations held in a spirit of openness, pluralism of opinions, and freedom of opinions. If, however, nothing else happens but a change in the direction of the wind, or—as in the "number war" game—the current defenders become attackers and the current attackers become defenders, then, in fact, nothing will happen. Therefore, Gorbachev's answer to protests claiming that "it will be difficult to work in an atmosphere where everyone is his own philosopher, his own greatest authority, and where everyone thinks that he is the only one who is right" is the following: "It is much worse if we have to deal with passive intellectuals, indifference, and cynicism." (page 75)

The New Economic and Social Policy [Subhead]

The mechanisms of a slow-down in the Soviet economy and exhausting the reform initiated in 1965 can be observed in the process of implementing the Ninth 5-Year Plan (1971-75): A slow down can definitely be discerned beginning with the middle of the seventies. Similarity between the economy of the largest socialist country—and generally of the economies of the European socialist countries—on the one hand, and the capitalist world economic trends on the other hand, is interesting and definitely not accidental. The latter has since emerged from the crisis and, although it failed to tackle the problems of structural unemployment and some harmful social phenomena, it has been putting on a good performance assisted by an increasing technological-industrial revolution of considerable force in some national economies.

The major tasks of restructuring the Soviet people's economy are very similar to those we are trying to implement. In both the Soviet Union and in Hungary, included on the agenda is changing the economic structure, putting the people's economy on an intensive development path, and accelerating scientific and technological progress. We regard the need to find the most effective forms of contact between public property and individual interests and between socialist property and economic organization as the most important guarantee for achieving these tasks both in the Soviet Union and in Hungary.

The economic reform adopted at the CPSU Central Committee meeting of June 1987 and the enterprise law that was submitted to wide debate and was finalized with many modifications—just as the development program and the government work program of stabilization aimed at accomplishing the reform process that had started earlier in Hungary—are new elements of economic thinking awaiting renewal, elements that are already being tested by being used. The renewed socialist economic system is defending in heated debates two of its often debated attributes: the planned economy and full employment. These are also major issues of the ideological debate currently under way in Hungary.

The goal is not to defend the old planning method! In the spirit of the Soviet economic reform, the central plans aim at handling and supervising only processes that can be rationally regulated and which have to be regulated in order to preserve the balance. The indicators used so far will lose their character of directives and will become guideline of enterprise planning.

Enterprises will be supervised and evaluated according to only certain indicators. A system of state orders for supplies will be in force in order to ensure that the population has a secure supply of consumer goods. The role of this system will gradually decrease with the growth of the commodity market, and later, state orders will be used in conjunction with competitive bidding, or socialist competition (this is a new concept in the Soviet economy!)

Beyond these limitations, enterprises will plan their economic activity, their market research and joining the foreign economic activity fully independently. Self-accounting and self-financing have become the bases of enterprise management. Local initiatives and ventures must gradually gain ground both in enterprise planning and in the management of kolkhozes, because these are the things that "keep the awareness of citizens and owners awake in people." The practice of electing the economic leaders that has already been introduced and the use of ventures in state enterprises and in the kolkhozes, all these strengthen this awareness. The people are eager to be owners—Gorbachev sums up in a positive form and with general validity the great shortcomings of the initial period of socialism. (page 90)

In his book, Mikhail Gorbachev deals with some basic social policy issues. One of them is the rejection of the so-called leftover principle, making sure that, as according to this principle (or rather practice), social policy—education, housing, health care, and so on—do not share the leftovers from a full table but enjoys equal rights with productive sectors in the planning of the people's economy. Doing away with two distorting factors of social policy: egalitarianism and illegal privileges, also promises to be a tough task. "We strive to make this fully clear: Socialism is not egalitarianism!" (page 93) Obviously, self-accounting reduced to increasingly smaller units is a fundamental condition for a public boycott of egalitarianism. Social policy has declared war against privileges through social allowances, privileges "that the state did not establish but were 'established' by certain officials, in fact, for their own benefit." (page 93) Such strong men can themselves place other groups of people in advantageous positions, and these groups will then make up the "feudal entourage" of such lords. Such phenomena led to the events that took place in Alma-Ata in Kazakhstan.

All these experiences, recognitions, and subsequent efforts also characterize our domestic practice. The program of economic and social renewal—whether called reform or restructuring—resembles in many ways our own program, or the processes under way in China or in other socialist countries. Given the size and great potential of the country, the development program underway in the Soviet Union has one element which differs essentially from similar programs under way in other socialist countries: source of technological and scientific reconstruction of the people's economy. Mikhail Gorbachev calls it an "import pest": the massive, and fundamentally unfounded, technical and technological import that emerged in the middle of the seventies as a result of exaggerated confidence in detente. Disappointment was all the more painful: "We were mercilessly punished for being so naive", when "the period of embargoes, boycotts, export bans, and limitations put on us" and subsequently the technical and technological backwardnessa of the socialist community. (pages 86-87) The Soviet scientists and scientific institutions that have already shown their marks of genius in space research and in other areas got down to solving this problem and have already achieved a breakthrough in some research areas. These results are still awaiting application in production, which is not an easy task.

"The World Has Lost Its Immortality" [subhead]

This is the motto of the new political thinking and also the basis for the daring Soviet foreign policy decisions. The first really far-reaching development which is relevant to all peoples in the world and which results from these decisions—signing the agreement on eliminating the short- and intermediate-range Soviet and U.S missiles—took place on 8 December 1987, after the publication of this volume.

The source of the new political thinking is the memorable 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 and its consequences. Some of the most important elements of the present international situation, though in a less developed condition, were already discernible then: the socialist world order was already in existence, the disintegration of colonialism had already begun, and both big powers already had a considerable arsenal of weapons of mass-destruction due to Western superiority at the time, however, a balance of arms developed only about 1 and 1/2 decades later, at the beginning of the seventies.

Let us now recall some of the presuppositions of the new political thinking which were formulated then and which are now more developed!

The Clausewitzian thesis, that war is nothing else but the continuation of politics by other means, has today become completely untenable. In the age of weapons of mass destruction, war means the collective suicide of the human race.

Security cannot be guaranteed by constantly developing swords and shields. Both systems of alliance watch each other closely and immediately catch up with any momentary lag and even outdo each other. In our age it is impossible to win a war or an arms race! Both common sense and the interests of mankind require the sensible maintaining of a balance at the lowest possible level. Disarmament has come to the fore and military doctrines should be renewed by giving them a strictly defensive character, as was laid down by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact in May 1987.

Revolution is not goods that can be exported! The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have an interest in the spreading of the ideas of social progress and, following this, in the emergence of social changes. (The social democratic parties and the 1986 Socialist International Congress in Lima also adopted a position in favor of eliminating the gap between the Asian, African, and Latin American countries and the developed capitalist world, as this was laid down in a report entitled: "A Global Challenge," a report which was prepared under the leadership of Willy Brandt and Michael Manley. Several reports by the so-called "Brandt Commission" of social-democratic, liberal, and neutral experts treated these issues in the same spirit.)

We should strictly separate the confrontation between ideologies from the relations between countries! Only practice can be the touchstone of political systems. Proving the superiority of any social and political system by means of arms can only lead to the extinction of the system itself. Placing universal human interests above universal class interests is one of Lenin's ideas! (page 137)

In addition to all these, the 20th CPSU Congress could only partially reckon with what has in the meantime become a fact, that the emergence and intensification of a whole series of global issues have been urging humanity, which is split into nations, countries, and systems of alliance, to find common solutions in order to survive. Mankind has a universal interest protecting the natural environment, preserving the air and the oceans, curbing the spread of new and frightening diseases, and defeating hunger and poverty.

Starting from all these, the Soviet political leadership turned toward the "new political thinking," toward the new concept that relates to the currently prevailing relationship between the class principle and the universal human principle.

The new thinking is not an improvisation or a mental exercise. "It results from the fact that we thought deeply about the realities prevailing in today's world and acknowledged that a responsible attitude to politics requires us to substantiate politics scientifically and associate ourselves from assumptions which previously seemed firm. We paid dearly for being unable to judge objectively, and made allowances for signs of prosperity...and, in analyzing the situation, we deviated from the requirement for a strict scientific attitude." (page 137)

From these serious inferences, the author draws the conclusion that international political priorities and the fact that nothing but nuclear death is the alternative to peaceful coexistence had to be made more unambiguous. Certain passages are absent from the newly formulated CPSU program adopted at its 27th Congress, passages like: "The peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems is a particular form of class struggle" and "If imperialist aggression dares to spark off a new world war, the people will not tolerate this system any more.... They will do away with imperialism and bury it." (page 139) Even assuming the possibility of a new world war in such a theoretical manner is absurd and untenable!

Public and Honest Relations [subhead]

In the course of analyzing international relations in a concrete way, it is almost obvious that Gorbachev should begin his analysis by characterizing Soviet relations with the socialist countries and communist parties.

The establishment of harmonized relations between the socialist countries was considerably hindered and is still affected by differences in their level of development and their sizes and capabilities. This area of the world did not escape shocks and crises either; most of the socialist countries' inherited backwardness and imperialist pressures, and last but not least the mechanical imitation of the practices of the first socialist state and the fact that national traits have become vague, all these carried the socialist countries toward shocks and crises. It is also necessary to reorganize the system of relations between the socialist countries because "since the end of the seventies, the contacts between the leaders of the fraternal countries have become slightly ceremonial. The honesty and practicality inherent in these contacts have declined." (page 156)

It is in the interests of the socialist community and essential to its development that socialist countries and parties learn from each other's positive and also less favorable experiences. A new working method is developing and being tried out, namely, multilateral working meetings between the leaders of the fraternal countries. This can be an important step toward solving national tasks, too, within the framework of joint guidelines.

In the past, socialist countries attempted to describe the collaboration among the Warsaw Pact countries as entirely smooth; at present, at the other extreme, as collaboration within which large differences of opinion have developed as a direct result of the reorganization and new thinking that is gaining ground in the Soviet Union. Breaking away from the standard answers given previously to such questions and remarks, Gorbachev this time does not stress the existence of an unbreakable unity; he stresses the fact that public and genuine debates are very necessary. "...The situation where our friends always applaud us is worse than the situation where our actions and initiatives are critically and subjectively analyzed." And in contrast to what is generally believed, and not only in the West, he added: "We do not have a monopoly over truth. Truth comes into being as a result of joint explorations and activities." (page 158) Every Communist, and anyone who feels responsibility to his people and nation and the advancement of the world can not just accept this thought but can also use it as a compass for his actions.

There is no place for ceremoniousness, diplomacy, and "serving a sweetened version of the truth or hiding it between the lines" among the leaders and representatives of countries and parties—particularly the communist parties—who share a common view of the world. From this point of view, it would be worth one's while to repeatedly read the documents of the Socialist International from the period when Lenin was still able to participate in the work of this international organization. It would perhaps be enough to mention the Second and Third Congresses of the Socialist International during which Lenin held debates with British, German, Dutch, and Italian representatives of misinterpreted leftist trends, and then with the German and Hungarian believers in the theory of offensive. But let us add that prestige never entered into these debates.

Gorbachev does not limit publicity and openness to relations between friends; publicity and openness are widely expressed characteristics of foreign policy practices which are guided by the new thinking. At present, in fact, there is no difference between what the Soviet state and party leaders say behind closed doors and what they say in public. Politics should not "speak in two voices," because the greater the chances for the emergence of a conflict are, the more predictable and transparent the policies of states and statesmen should be. And predictability requires one to speak openly and clearly.

In the concluding part of the book one can read the following: "We believe that the offshoots of reorganization will develop in international relations, and also in Soviet-U.S relations, among other things. Acquiring the new political thinking is a demand of our era." (page 247)

Experience from a millenium of human history shows that a policy can be successful and accomplish its goals if its parts combine with each other to comprise an organic whole and its endeavors comprise an interdependent uniform system. The hitherto accomplished foreign and domestic results of Soviet policy which was worked out under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev have also proved the truth of this thesis. The author's thoughts, which he revealed in this book to his country and the world, strengthen our conviction that the ideas embodied by this policy will have an influential effect on the future of the Soviet people, the socialist countries, and of mankind as a whole.

Taking into consideration the events which have taken place since Gorbachev wrote this book and also on daily events, we can justifiably say that life both in Soviet domestic policy and in international relations continuously confirms Gorbachev's thoughts, as if life's lessons were a continuation of this book. Reality lends credence to Mikhail Gorbachev's truth.

Austrian Minister Meets With Marjai, Grosz

LD222136 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—Robert Graf, Austrian federal minister of economics, paid a brief working visit to Budapest on Monday at the invitation of Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai.

In the framework of friendly cooperation between the two countries, Jozsef Marjai and Robert Graf exchanged views on the international economic and monetary situation, and surveyed the topical issues of comprehensive Hungarian-Austrian relations.

The Austrian federal minister met Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Gecse-Led Party Delegation Visits Denmark

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
17 Feb p 5

[Text] An MSZMP Party Workers delegation led by Attila Gecse, deputy director of the MSZMP Central Committee's International Relations Department, has returned from Copenhagen. At the invitation of the Danish Social Democratic Party, the delegation participated in the Third Communist-Social Democratic Round Table Conference held there between 12-14 February. Sven Auken, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, held a reception for the participants in the conference. The MSZMP delegation held talks with Lasse Budtz, party spokesman for security policy affairs. During his stay in Copenhagen, Attila Gecse held a meeting with Ole Sohn, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark; Ib Norlund, member of the party executive committee; and with Jorn Christensen, party secretary for foreign affairs. In the course of their cordial and comradely talks, they exchanged views on several topical issues of the international communist and workers movement, and reviewed the possibilities for further developing the relations between the MSZMP and the Communist Party of Denmark.

Industry Minister Berecz on Major Goals

AU221325 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian
18 Feb 88 p 5

[Interview with Industry Minister Frigyes Berecz by Correspondent Erzsebet Eller: "Industry Is the Source and Not the Swallower of National Income"—date and place not given]

[Text] Growth in the sector supervised by the Industry Ministry increased in 1987 by 3.8 percent compared to 1986, but the performance resulting in this growth still cannot be attributed to the deliberate structural reorganization. Therefore, we can come close to this development pace this year and next only if a considerable change now really takes place. Our correspondent Erzsebet Eller interviewed Industry Minister Frigyes Berecz on the major industrial policy goals ahead.

[Eller] The Central Statistical Office report on economic performance in 1987 was published recently. How does the report evaluate industrial performance with a view toward the future?

[Berecz] The performance of the branches supervised by the Industry Ministry—that is, excluding the food, building materials, and basic materials industries—increased by 3.8 percent compared to 1986. Almost every branch increased more than planned, with the single exception of metallurgy. The production growth achieved in industry is also related to a small extent to the wave of procurement at the end of 1987. This increase in procurement required consumer goods manufacturers to ensure that the shops remained well stocked with goods. However, these manufacturers are making use of some of their additional profits to meet their investment requirements and this activity thus also affects the manufacturers of machines and installations.

Among the industrial branches, the chemical industry developed most dynamically—by 6.2 percent—but the engineering industry also achieved a 3.8 percent increase by the end of December 1987 in spite of the serious problems that developed in this branch during the year. Within sales, exports to socialist countries increased to a relatively lesser extent—by some 2 percent. Exports to capitalist countries exceeded the 1986 level by 6.3 percent, but if we measure these exports in monetary value, then the dollar income of industrial exports increased by 14.1 percent, so there were also profits because of the higher prices. However, the fact that industrial sales on the domestic market also exceeded the planned level is not a particularly welcome development from the viewpoint of our economic balance. This development was praised at the end of last year, but now that the procurement wave is over, it is justifiably being criticized from the viewpoint of long-term interests.

[Eller] Can the same be said about industrial performance if we consider productivity rather than production indicators?

[Berecz] The final data will be ready at the end of February 1988. From the preliminary data it seems that productivity has increased even more than production, because fewer workers produced this surplus—there was a 2 percent reduction in manpower in industry. Productivity per industry employee increased by 5-6 percent, but we can also calculate this in production per hour of work.

[Eller] I think people would be more interested in knowing how much industry contributed to the national income.

[Berecz] Budget income stood at about 590 billion forints. A considerable amount of this sum—some 200 billion forints—derives from taxes paid by industrial units and from the withdrawal of profits. The state withdraws considerably more the from industry than it pays back in the form of various subsidies every year—not just in 1987. This is the way it should be. At the same time, the income of industrial enterprises increased by more than 8 percent on average, but social expenditures remained unchanged. As a whole, therefore, a considerable amount of the national income—some 280 billion forints—originated from the industrial sectors. Thus the industrial sector was the source and not a swallower because it consumed much less than that amount. However, I hope this analysis does not seem too positive because 1986—used as a basis for comparison—was the worst year in a long time. Therefore, the economic plan for 1987 was also prepared with caution. We will be correctly evaluating our achievements if we say that industry has found its way back to its previous state. The market conditions for certain products improved—or at least did not deteriorate—and this made it possible, for example, to increase the export prices of certain industrial goods. However, we must be aware that these changes are not yet the result of deliberate structural reorganization. Similar results can be achieved this year and next only if a considerable change really takes place.

In assessing the chances for the current year, we cannot be optimistic either. We do not yet know the extent of our turnover with the socialist countries, because interstate talks are not being held at present with some countries. Although there are many open questions, it seems that, compared with the recent 2-percent development, this year we will at most be able only to maintain last year's level. Some 40-50 percent of industrial exports are directed to socialist markets. The economic policy efforts to reduce domestic consumption are also well known. The increase in industrial production, therefore, can be based only on an increase in exports to capitalist markets. It transpires from the aforementioned data that the results achieved in 1987 cannot be exceeded with the methods used so far. Therefore, the 1988 plan for the people's economy stipulates a 1-1.5 percent increase for the industrial branches under the supervision of the Industry Ministry, compared with a 3.8 percent increase in 1986. We intend to exceed this increase of 1-1.5 percent. But this will not be the main characteristic of industrial performance this year.

Restructuring with Modest Growth [Subhead]

[Eller] What is then the goal you have set for yourself?

[Berecz] The activity of the industrial sector will be characterized in the future by the qualitative changes in the marketing structure of our products and in the level and efficiency of production technologies.

[Eller] Many people say, however, that this cannot be measured....

[Berecz] In the short term indeed it cannot be measured effectively, but taking into consideration the medium or longer term, it is already possible to discern a change. While government measures greatly influence the figures for 1 or 2 years, the effects of these measures even up within 3-5 years. Let us then take the eight major tasks ahead of us, tasks that I have not classified according to importance because I regard them as being equally important! In my opinion, the leadership of the Industry Ministry and I personally have to deal with these tasks regularly. I can assure you that we will not be dealing primarily with the aforementioned growth of 1-1.5 percent but will see to it that very important structural policy decisions emerge. I deliberately formulated this last sentence in this way and did not say that we would take those decisions, because, due to their importance, we will have to provide answers to the majority of these questions together with our partners in the government and abroad and together with the enterprises. Central management and intervention will be still necessary, mainly in dealing with the so-called "run-down sectors", as well as in considerably developing the sectors that act as the so-called driving force. Since there is not too much money available for investment in the country, we first have to settle the problem of loss-making branches and branches with a capital deficit. Coal mining, iron metallurgy, and nitrogen fertilizer production, for example, are among these branches. I will not mention other branches, only some enterprises, for example, the Ganz-Mavag enterprise. The fact that Ganz-Mavag was an engineering industry enterprise does not mean that we can identify its problems with those facing the entire engineering industry.

The government has a double task to fulfill in the case of nitrogen fertilizer production. On the one hand, the government must see to it that there is a sufficient supply of fertilizers, because three or four domestic producers fulfill some 60 percent of the requirements of Hungarian agriculture. On the other hand, the government must make the enterprises profitable. The Council of Ministers has recently ordered the rehabilitation of the Nitrogen Works in Pet. An interesting thing about this is that the technology created by a government decision at the time and with an investment of 10 billion forints is the most up-to-date technology here in Pet. Rehabilitation can only create a temporary operational ability for this modern technology. But will it be possible to restore this operational ability on a lasting basis so that the domestic price of artificial fertilizers will not have to be increased? (Because such an increase will adversely affect agriculture) Hardly so, and a suitable solution to this problem is currently being sought.

[Eller] What would you mention among the sectors which act as a driving force?

[Berecz] Although I do not like this term, I think the issue of domestic private car production belongs here. Both domestic need and our foreign partners urge us to make a quick decision on this matter. Today, there are some 1.3 million private cars in Hungary and their number is expected to exceed 2 million by the year 2000. But the increase in quantity should take place together with a 50 percent decrease in the average life span and average fuel consumption of the private vehicles in Hungary. This means that the domestic market would need 200,000 new cars annually. We know that we are unable to satisfy the demand only from the present sources of socialist imports. There is an ample supply on the Western market, but we do not have enough hard currency for that. What are the possible choices? Either with socialist or capitalist cooperation, we will have to produce in the future, the number of vehicles necessary for fulfilling the demand and which supplement the imports. It is even possible that a solution will be found by combining the two. In any case, the Industry Ministry must initiate a decision concerning this issue in the first half of the current year, but it must do this carefully, because whatever solution is selected, several tens of billions of forints are needed for its implementation.

My previous professional area is electronics. This includes production of professional electronic, communication, consumer electronics, computer, and precision engineering installations, as well as the production of electronic components for all these installations. I do not regard microelectronics as a sector that acts as a driving force. Production of electronic components in Hungary will never be able to create considerable exports to capitalist markets. Even the great electronic firms in Europe cannot compete with the U.S. and Japanese firms, but they all want to supply their domestic markets with such products. However, microelectronic products and installations that contain high level intellectual work can also be sold abroad.

As a former electronics expert, I am glad to have the opportunity to promote, in my position as industry minister, a basic connection of the chemical industry and electronics, because the chemical industry contains the roots of modern electronics. Besides, the chemical industry is among our strong sectors, and the areas that need to be especially developed are also known, like the rubber and pharmaceutical industries and the production of intermediaries and pesticides. It might come as a surprise if I mention the production of textile clothing within the light industry as such an area that needs special development. This sector's exports to capitalist markets were quite successful in 1987, but its performance is not recognized proportionally with its export results.

[Eller] Is this a sector where we can expect quick and spectacular results?

[Berecz] Maybe not spectacular results, but considerable results can be achieved with relatively small investments and a short production period. While renewal in the case of almost all the aforementioned sectors requires billions of forints, a clothing enterprise with 500 workers requires 30 million forints for investment and some hard currency worth some $200,000. We can fulfill such requirements even under the current difficult conditions.

More Coordinated Means of Production [subhead]

[Eller] What means has the government at its disposal and what means have you and your ministry at your disposal?

[Berecz] We must separate between the government measures and the measures taken by the industry ministry. Let me make it clear in advance that the government measures are not directed toward the sectors but toward the economic units, and with some modifications, they are directed today only toward profitable enterprises. Such a measure, for example, is the one according to which, beginning with 1987 enterprises that are more profitable than the average have been given tax returns. The system of long-term competition aimed at boosting exports has also been successful, and it has been modified this year in accordance with the new tax regulations. Some 200 industrial enterprises are participating in this competition. I regard the widening of the automation of import purchases as a considerable step forward. The essence of the new regulations is that a wide range of enterprises are no longer obliged to ask permission for the import of each item, but will be able to decide for themselves what they want to purchase abroad and when. There are various categories and solutions of the current experiment; success or failure depends on the extent that economic management is able to consistently stick to its concepts and new measures in the first half of 1988. It is also well known that the wage regulations stipulate a very strict central management of the wage fund this year. But, under certain conditions, and following major economic performances, there will be ways to make exceptions and regard the wage fund as simple expenditures. Some 50 industrial enterprises are expected to make use of this opportunity.

The central technical development fund is the only substantial means by which the Industry Ministry can directly influence the restructuring process and subsequently the economic activity as well. Beginning with this year, the individual economic sectors will carry a more proportionate burden of compulsory contributions. Therefore, the burden of industrial enterprises will decrease in this respect. And we have not yet spoken about several other forms of state-supplied preferential treatment; although the sources of these preferences are not controlled by our ministry, we do participate in designating the recipients of these preferences. As I have already mentioned above, the main problem is that the effects of these measures do not always corroborate. We would like to create a working method between the Industry Ministry and the partner ministries which would enable the coordination of the system of industrial policy means.

There Is No Crisis in Metallurgy and Mining [subhead]

[Eller] You do not regard the term "driving force" as an adequate one when describing sectors. Do you regard mining and metallurgy as sectors in crisis?

[Berecz] No, I do not regard them as sectors in crisis and I would like to prove that with logical arguments. Aluminum, non-ferrous metal, and iron metallurgy are all part of metallurgy as a whole. There are no signs of any crisis in the first two branches. Iron metallurgy comprises some 20 enterprises. It is true, however, that the Duna Ironworks, the Lenin Metallurgical Works, and the Metallurgical Plant of Ozd are decisive from the viewpoint of this branch. The Duna Iron Works made a profit of 840 million forints in 1987. At the same time, the other two large-scale enterprises that had previously registered losses erded 1987 without losses or profits—that is, with zero results. It is well known that 16 outdated melting units and Siemens-Martin furnaces, and 3 rolling mills were shut down and will be replaced with more up-to-date installations. Although we cannot yet show results deriving from restructuring in industry as a whole, we do have results in this particular area. The way I see it, if metallurgy continues to receive the selective support provided last year, it can achieve long-term stabilization. The supply of good quality import iron ore at the Duna Ironworks has been solved. In the case of the Ozd and Diosgyor enterprises, we have to deal with this issue again by 31 March 1988. The Hungarian Credit Bank has withdrawn its decision to stop supplying credits to the two enterprises in Borsod. A decision has also been made according to which, with certain limitations, domestic enterprises with solid capital should cooperate with metallurgy in order to boost the exports of metallurgical enterprises.

As to when and how metallurgy is to receive the state development fund worth 2 billion forints which is to be decided by the State Planning Office, continues to be a subject for debate. So far, of this total the enterprises could use only 200 million forints. It is, of course, also a problem that the sums that have remained unused for 2 years have lost a lot of their value.

[Eller] Has the organizational reorganization of the metallurgy been dropped from the agenda?

[Berecz] No, it has not. This issue has to be settled. We would like the emergence of an office, organized from "below," at the initiative of the enterprises, and in harmony with today's economic policy and enterprise laws, an office that would not harm the independence of the members but would coordinate the use of development funds and the market activity.

Based on 1 Million Workers [subhead]

[Eller] In connection with the mining industry, I would like to know what kind of division of labor can be worked out between the industry minister and the government commissioner in charge of energy management?

[Berecz] The government commissioner is in charge of the central economic development program for energy management, the structural reorganization of the coal mining sector, and for the nuclear energy development program. He does not have to deal with the constant issues of daily production.

The same can be said about the mining industry as about metallurgy. Only one branch, the coal mining, is in a really difficult economic situation. But there is also mineral oil excavation, natural gas production, and metal ore excavation in Hungary. Their profitability is well known. There are eight large-scale coal mining enterprises currently in operation in Hungary; among them, and this is also well known, there are serious problems at the Tatabanya and Mecsek mines, and the Nograd Coal Mines is a border case.

[Eller] Of the eight mining enterprises, however, only one can be described as profitable, with a clear conscience...

[Berecz] No doubt, the effects of the economic environment in which these enterprises work are present. Mining costs have always been high all over the world; the current system of economic regulators does not adequately take this into consideration.

[Eller] In the most difficult period last year, you appeared in front of the workers in Ozd and in Many and essentially assured them that it is possible to restore the deteriorated economic balance. Did you not fear that you were thus painting a more optimistic picture than the one that really exists?

[Berecz] It is my experience as a former enterprise leader that, when one has to win over the workers at a general meeting for a hard but solvable cause, one must also make them feel the determination of the leadership, otherwise the workers will not follow the leaders. It is another matter that the four or five leaders who are primarily responsible for decisions must also reckon with less successful decisions. But what would be the advantage of carrying the leaders' latent pessimism or doubts over to the workers too? What would this achieve?

[Eller] We could, for example, give time for those affected to prepare...

[Berecz] That is, for unpleasant things? We shoule better search for a solution, and when we ourselves are convinced that a solution exists in reality, then we should seek allies! For example, when I descended into the mine in Many, I saw with my own eyes that there was indeed too much water there, but that there was also a 10-meters-thick layer of black coal; so, there can be a solution and this is what we must find in the future!

[Eller] You said the following at a meeting in 1987: "Implementation of our goals depends on the measures that will affect the trajectory of development. These measures, however, require a collaboration of intellectual and financial resources." As an industry minister, on what intellectual potential do you want to rely?

[Berecz] First of all, I want to rely on the very best of the almost 1 million workers employed in the sphere of enterprises that belong to the jurisdiction of the Industry Ministry. In addition, we would like to strengthen our relations, for example, with the research institutes of the academy, the partner ministries, and with their institutions. It was not me who founded it, but a seven-member committee has been operating within the ministry since 1985, a committee that receives deserted inventors and innovators every Monday, and helps implement their good ideas. We also greatly rely on intellectual know-how that can be purchased under honest circumstances both through cooperation within CEMA and through other international relations. [Eller] Thank you for the interview.

Orzechowski Begins Talks With India's Singh

LD230252 Warsaw PAP in English
1402 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 22—Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski started an official visit here by laying wreaths at plaques commemorating cremation of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi and paying tribute to the memory of the great leaders of the Indian nation and founders of modern India.

Later in the day Polish-Indian plenary talks started under co-chairmanship of Ministers Natwar Singh and Orzechowski.

Welcomed by Indian Minister

LD230301 Warsaw PAP in English
0046 GMT 23 Feb 88

["Minister Natwar Singh's Speech (Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Delhi, Feb 22—Welcoming Minister Marian Orzechowski, India's Minister for External Affairs Natwar Singh said: Relations between Poland and India have a warm, friendly, multidimensional character.

Indian-Polish relations owe much to the mutual contribution of our peoples into the traditions and culture of each state.

India and Poland have been linked by multi-year involvement in the struggle for nuclear disarmament. Poland's honest strivings to disarmament and detente in Europe during the last period have been expressed in the proposal of the president of the Council of State—the 1987 Jaruzelski Plan, which we rate very highly. We received with appreciation the agreement on the elimination of medium range missiles signed during the summit between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan. Recently the Group of Six in a declaration issued from Stockholm put forward certain initiatives and undertakings on the road to disarmament. Poland's support for the initiatives of the "Group of Six and for the Delhi declaration has been received with true satisfaction. Similarly as in the past we will continue cooperation on various international forums for peace and development.

The regular exchange of visits between our countries has created a high degree of good political will and mutual understanding. Jawaharlal Nehru visited Poland and became an honorary citizen of Warsaw. Poland was also visited by Indira Gandhi. Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to India in February 1985 was an important event in the development of Indian-Polish relations. The visit to Poland by our former president in November 1985 offered a chance for the continuation of high-level dialogue between both states. Your visit, Mr Minister, confirms the ties of our friendship.

In the field of economic cooperation, regular sessions of the mixed commission and visits of experts and businessmen have caused that we are close to reaching our goal in the shape of the doubling of the trade turnover. The dynamics of economic cooperation have caused that we should further widen and vary the roads of bilateral cooperation in the area of trade, industry and in the key fields of science and technology.

Replies to Welcoming Address

LD230307 Warsaw PAP in English
2308 GMT 22 Feb 88

["Minister Orzechowski's Address (Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Delhi, Feb 22—Minister Orzechowski stressed that the Polish nation highly rates the close and durable relations with India. A significant element of close and fruitful cooperation is the identity of views on the main problems of the contemporary world, mutual-understanding and confidence.

"With satisfaction we note the systematic progress in Polish-Indian political, economic, scientific-technological, as well as cultural and personal cooperation.

"Poland is returning to its traditional international activeness. With attention and hope we observe positive phenomena in East-West relations. Their most characteristic manifestation are the resolutions of the Soviet-American summit in Washington.

"We are deeply convinced that the peaceful offensive of the Soviet Union and the socialist states create real chances for the freeing of the world from the threat of nuclear holocaust, for the permanent improvement of international relations.

"Poland is making its own, original contribution to the process of strengthening peace and security on the European Continent. Its expression is the comprehensive plan of reducing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe, called the Jaruzelski Plan. It has met with wide interest of the governments and world public opinion. Poland will patiently strive towards its implementation in life.

"We give our support to all constructive, global and regional proposals of solving regional conflicts solely by political means. We wish the creative rational peace philosophy to find a practical application on all continents, including the Asian continent.

"We note with satisfaction that India is playing an increasingly significant role in international politics, that it is making an increasingly important contribution to the building of a secure and peaceful world. This found expression in the historic Delhi Declaration from November 1986 (Rajiv Gandhi-Mikhail Gorbachev).

"Due to their positions in their regions—in Europe and Asia—Due to the high activeness for agreement, the easing of tensions and increasing of confidence, both our states may and should play an important role in the rapprochement and better understanding between the East and West."

Conducts Talks With Singh

LD230949 Warsaw PAP in English
0023 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 22.—Today both ministers conducted the first round of talks which concentrated on issues of bilateral relations.

Minister Natwar Singh stressed the significance which India attaches to relations with Poland, he accentuated the traditions of high level political dialogue and cooperation in the United Nations and in international commissions.

Minister Marian Orzechowski stressed the fact that India is Poland's largest partner among developing countries and accentuated the need of the intensification of cooperation.

Both sides attach much importance to mutual dialogue and exchange of parliamentary, party and government visits, cooperation between social organizations and ministries. Cooperation on the international arena is manifested, among other things, through the mutual support given to peace initiatives.

Particular attention was given to economic cooperation and trade exchange issues with both sides noting with satisfaction the fact that during the last two years the latter had grown twofold. Both men stressed the need of searching for new, intensive forms of cooperation with consideration of the capabilities of the resource complex, power engineering and electronics. They discussed the possibility of widening the legal-treaty infrastructure, which would serve the development of economic relations.

Both sides see considerable possibilites for the development and deepening of scientific-technological cooperation and enriching it with new forms of exchange.

During the first day of talks both sides also reviewed international issues of a particular regional importance expressing the conviction about the need of a political solution of conflicts around Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Both men pointed to the concepts of the policy of national conciliation and the improvement of the climate in the sphere of international relations as important conditions of this process. Both sides support this and see the possibility of cooperating for the reduction of tensions.

In the evening Minister Singh gave a dinner in honour of Minister Orzechowski during which both ministers gave speeches (summaries will move seperately) [PAP editor's note]

Also today Minister Orzechowski was received by India's Vice-President Shankar Dayal Sharma.

Warsaw TV Interviews Gwiazda on U.S. Talks

LD222040 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 21 Feb 88

["Studio" interview with Foreign Trade Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda by unidentified correspondent; date not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Our guest in the studio is Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda, the head of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation. It is pleasant to greet you in our studio. Minister, you have just returned from the United States, and in an interview for the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE you said that the greatest success of the week in the United States was the calling of the session of the Polish-U.S. Intergovernment Commission for Economic Cooperation. Is this indeed all that you have brought with you from New York, from Washington, from Chicago?

[Gwiazda] First, I did not entirely announce myself as was later presented in the interview and, second, if you expect from me information on the subject of concrete purchases of goods for Poland, I must disappoint you, as the commission is not a forum for discussing concrete trade transactions. On the other hand, it is an appropriate forum for discussing all matters associated with the development of economic cooperation. It specifies the areas of this cooperation and also the conditions of this cooperation.

[Correspondent] But in general, Mr Minister, can one label the baggage that you brought with you with the adjective optimistic? Are you pleased with your (?role)?

[Gwiazda] I judge that to be yes. That is, I am pleased, though not completely, as certain matters which we wanted resolved were not. For instance, we did not attain progress in that which is significant for the growth of machine imports from the United States to Poland. We simply want the normalization of our bilateral credit and financial relations.

[Correspondent] Concretely, the point is, do we want the starting up of those credits that serve the servicing of normal trade?

[Gwiazda] Of course, yes. We cannot realize greater purchases for cash, as we have been doing until now, especially if they relate to machines, equipment, and production lines—I am talking of complete plants.

[Correspondent] That is what you did not attain. What did you succeed in arranging?

[Gwiazda] We agreed, first, concrete areas of cooperation. That is electronics, (?computers), chemicals, the agricultural and food industry, especially packaging, and many other—many areas of the electrical engineering industry. Second, we agreed on the form of this cooperation. Not just the participation of U.S. firms in the modernization of those plants supplied to Poland by the United States in the seventies that now need modernization, but also cooperation, classic industrial cooperation, the participation of U.S. firms in the implementation of plans that are part of the program of exports favouring transformations in Poland, in Polish industry. And finally, the participation of U.S. firms in foreign participation companies that are being created in Poland.

[Correspondent] If we can just pause over this last problem. As I understand, at the moment there are three joint ventures, joint enterprises. This is not very many. The competition—if by competition we understand, for instance, the Soviet Union or Hungary—has more. It is said that the hindrance is our regulations regarding joint ventures, which are unattractive for a foreign partner. Can you confirm this opinion?

[Gwiazda] Not altogether. Contrary to what you said, our conditions for the participation of foreign firms in capital ventures in Poland are not unattractive, they are not at all bad. The best proof of this is that on the basis of precisely these conditions there are 15 such ventures. As to whether or not someone decides to engage his capital in some venture, this is decided more, perhaps, by the picture of the economy which, unfortunately, in the eyes of the West, is not the best. Clearly the attractiveness of the conditions is of major significance. And in association with this we came out with a legislative initiative so as to make these conditions decidely more attractive. These are as yet ministry proposals. If they are accepted by the Sejm in the form in which they will be presented, then I think that our revised law will be very attractive for foreign...

[Correspondent, interrupting] So there will be not 15, but more; not 3 joint ventures with the United States, but more of them too. Thank you minister.

Official Views Sci-Tech Cooperation With U.S.

LD222248 Warsaw PAP in English
2117 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—"In accordance with the assumptions of the Polish-American agreement on scientific and technological cooperation and methods of its financing, which was signed last year by Vice-President George Bush and Deputy President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski, it will be conducted according to the principles of equality, mutuality and bilateral profitability," Jan Padlewski, director of the Economic Department in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, told PAP.

The main forms of cooperation will include joint research, development and design undertakings, exchange of scientists, specialists and research staff, joint symposiums, scientific conferences, courses, exchange of scientific and technological information and documentations.

"The overcoming of the legacy of the six years, during which Polish-American cooperation was suspended by decision of the U.S. Government, and the making up of the losses borne by Poland will not be possible overnight. What is required is systematic bilateral work on the reconstruction of mutual Polish-American relations in various fields, including science and technology," Padlewski said. He added that enlivened political contacts were assuredly helpful in the development of scientific-technological cooperation. "However, it is difficult to speak about a clear breakthrough in this field. Despite the fact that five months have passed since the signing of the agreement the mechanism of its realization, especially in the financial aspect, has not yet been set into motion," he said.

"The agreement envisages the creation of a joint second fund named after Maria Sklodowska-Curie, which would be set up as a result of equal, annual contributions made by the American and Polish side. Unfortunately, because of internal procedures in the U.S., we can expect the first American contribution to be made in the fall of this year at the earliest. In line with the agreement the Polish side will make its contribution not later than a month after the American side. Poland's payment into the fund will be in zlotys while the American one will be made in dollars and zlotys," Padlewski continued.

"Thus the initiation of new, joint research programmes on a greater scale will, in reality, be possible after both sides make the above mentioned payments. However, cooperating scientific centres and scientists, who want to finish joint research projects—uncompleted because of the lack of funds, being carried out within the framework of hitherto signed agreements or who want to establish cooperation with American research centres within the ramifications of new agreements can do so even today.

"Already now exists the possibility of financing trips of Polish scientists to the U.S. and American scientists to Poland who are interested in preparing new projects, there are also funds for the conclusion of hitherto uncompleted joint research projects.

"As a result of negotiations with the American side it has already become possible to activate certain funds, which are sufficient to cover trips of about 100 Polish scientists to the United States. There are also, in the accounts of the first Maria Sklodowska-Curie fund, financial resources enabling the stay of American scientists in Poland," he continued.

Padlewski said that the Committee for Scientific-Technological Cooperation will hold its inaugural session in midyear. He added that Poland will be represented by representatives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Office of Technological-Scientific Progress and Applications, the Ministry of National Education and the Finance Ministry. In accordance with the agreement on scientific-technological cooperation the Foreign Affairs Ministry will fulfill the role of an executive organ in implementing the agreement. In the United States this will be done by the State Department. The joint committee will deal with the planning, coordination, supervision of Polish-American scientific and technological cooperation and its financing. It will convene at least once a year—alternately in Warsaw and Washington.

Concluding, Padlewski stressed that in many Polish milieux, including scientific circles, the decisions made by the U.S. Government in 1982, evoked shock and caused measurable losses. This is why representatives of science are not hiding their doubts and reservations about becoming involved once again in multi-year cooperation. Similar feelings prevail in administrative bodies overseeing science. Nevertheless, not forgetting the lesson from the past, the appearing possiblities should be used, both for the good of science, country as well as Polish-American relations.

Soviet Naval Forces Exercise in Baltic

AU221629 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Feb 88 p 6

[Stanislaw Reperowicvz report: "Alarm on Board the 'Druzhniy'"]

[Excerpts] The Baltic is small and shallow compared to an ocean, but from the point of view of Poland's security it is of vital importance. For it is our only direct border with NATO. Airspace and the Baltic are the two points from where we could receive a surprise armed attack.

It would be difficult to defend over 500 km of maritime border by means of a duel. Therefore, peace in the Baltic, and hence also in Poland, is defended by the combined naval forces of three friendly countries—the USSR, GDR, and PPR, and by other armed services of these countries. The Soviet Armed Forces are represented in this alliance by the USSR Baltic Fleet, which has twice been decorated with the Red Banner.

A Soviet naval port on the Baltic. It is closed to tourists. The lives of the seamen in this city are entirely devoted to consolidating maritime security. Some of the ships here have appeared off our coast, taking party in joint exercises, or have paid courtesy calls. But I am seeing most of them for the first time. They include the powerful missile cruiser "Grozniy" ["Formidable"]. The appearance of this floating fortress fully lives up to its name.

Next to it is the great missile hunter "Druzhniy" ["Implacable"]. At the invitation of the USSR Ministry of National Defense, it is from this ship that I have the possibility of observing exercises by a flotilla of vessels and group of aircraft and helicopters belonging to the Baltic Fleet. The object of the exercise is to seek and destroy an enemy submarine that has entered Soviet territorial waters.

The choice of object is not a coincidence. It stems from current defense needs. Unfortunately, the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles called for in the USSR-U.S. pact does not include sea-based missiles. Therefore there is still a whole arsenal of nuclear resources in the possession of NATO fleets, mainly on board submarines.

One method of defense against these is by means of specialized ships like "Druzhniy." "Druzhniy" has a length of 123 meters, longer than the biggest soccer pitch in the world in Milan; a breadth of 14 meters; and a draft of 5.5 meters. She has a standard weight of 2,900 tonnes and a full weight, in other words when fully laden with all supplies of fuel, grease, and so on, of 3,200 tons. She is fast and maneuverable thanks to her slim design and modern propulsion system consisting of four engines with a total of 52,000 horsepower. In the opinion of experts, this enables her to catch up with any submarine, including nuclear ones.

Her armaments are adapted to the task she is to perform. They include a system of antiaircraft missiles, a battery of 76-millimeter cannon with a range of 11 km, torpedoes with a range of 10 km, and depth charges which can be fired up to a distance of 5.5 km. The rich array of radio equipment is illustrated by dozens of antennas of all shapes and sizes covering not only the masts, but also every protruding portion of the hull. This equipment is used for navigation, identifying dangers up to 200 km away, and conducting hostile activity against identified targets. All this conforms to the principle whereby every battle station on board must have its own independent radio equipment, with antenna.

The crew consists of 100 men, including 50 officers and NCO's. Every seaman is a specialist in his work.

The scenario is as follows. An unidentified underwater object has been discovered near Soviet territorial waters. Increased activity by enemy surface ships and aircraft has also been observed in other parts of the Baltic. To eliminate the danger, the Baltic Fleet command has dispatched part of its force, in other words "Druzhniy," plus two other ships similar to her—"Slavniy" ["Ruthless"] and "Sviriepiy" ["Relentless"] These names are traditional and commemorate an earlier generation of ships that distinguished itself in World War II.

When the alarm sounded, the port began to empty. "Druzhniy's" engines ran quietly. In complete silence, observing security rules and schedules, the crew expertly brought the ship to the required area. Later, the wind rose and waves began to swell. At this time, preliminary reconnaissance for the "intruder" was carried out by a Soviet reconnaissance aircraft equipped for submarines, followed by two helicopters with special equipment.

These aircraft pinpointed the underwater target and passed the information to the hunters. Then the commander of "Druzhniy" gave the order "Full Steam Ahead" and the ship lurched forward, soon reaching 30 knots. Close behind were "Slavniy" and "Sviriepiy."

All of a sudden, a radar station reported that enemy aircraft were heading toward us and would reach us in 2-3 minutes. This was enough time to prepare antiaircraft weapons. "Druzhniy" fired off antiaircraft missiles with a range of 10 km. It did so successfully, because the aircraft headed back after the first salvo. But when they had reached a safe distance, one of them fired a guided missile at us, which was duly shot down by Seaman Aleksandr Koshelev. Later, I found out that, with the help of missiles like the ones carried by "Druzhniy," antiaircraft operators of the Baltic Fleet can shoot down 95 percent of the naval versions of the cruise missile when they are still 4 to 5 km away from the ship. [passage omitted]

An unplanned element, combining training with concrete reality, was introduced in the exercise. It was discovered that an FRG reconnaissance ship, the "Alster," was sailing at a distance of 25 cables (one cable is 185.2 meters, or one-tenth of a nautical mile). I could not even see her through the binoculars because we were in a heavy mist with a visibility of up to 15 cables. Later it transpired that the "Alster" was accompanied by an FRG reconnaissance aircraft.

According to a report by the Soviet fleet command, information about the exercise had been passed in good time to all states involved in the Baltic situation, in accordance with the Helsinki Agreement. The exact quality and quantity of the resources taking part was reported. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the Bundesmarine command decided to observe this exercise by means of its espionage apparatus, which is also known to Polish seamen. The "Alster" tried to do this mainly by means of radio listening equipment and by capturing radio localizer beams and monitoring radio conversations. But the undesirable company did not interfere in the exercise. [passage omitted]

The entire exercise was led by 39 year-old Rear Admiral Yevgeniy Chebanov, the Baltic Fleet's commander-in-chief of combat training. He also presented the entire philosophy behind the exercise.

"The Soviet concept presented by Mikhail Gorbachev of giving military doctrines a defensive nature is well known," he said. "This exercise can be considered a classic example of this policy. An enemy submarine was discovered near our coast. It threatened us, therefore it was necessary to destroy it. This task was entrusted to search vessels, which are not used for offensive activity. They can only destroy an aggressor. The range of firing was also not great, only 10 km. This also illustrates the defensive nature of the training. Even the missile ships were only called out when we had to screen our ships from a stronger opponent."

In connection with the well-known Soviet peace initiatives, can one expect less tension in the Baltic? In the opinion of Captain First Rank Pavel Kashauskas, deputy chief of the Baltic Fleet's political administration, it would be premature to think so. The nature of NATO's naval maneuvers in the Baltic and the espionage performed by the "Alster" prevents such optimism. If the Western countries agreed to and accepted the concrete proposals presented by Premier Ryzhkov during his latest trip to the Scandinavian countries, the Baltic could become a sea of peace. But until they do so, peace in this part of Europe will have to be guarded by our three fraternal, friendly fleets.

Let us add that the latest incident on 12 February in the Black Sea, when two U.S. warships violated Soviet territorial waters, confirms the need for a continued alert naval watch in the Baltic as well.

Report on Intersputnik Communication System

LD221734 Warsaw PAP in English
1625 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Polish and Soviet specialists are about to launch a new installation within a ground satellite communication station operating as part of the Intersputnik system in Psary, near Kielce.

The new facility is expected to improve the quality of phone connections between Poland and some West European countries, as well as with Cuba and other Central American states.

The work done in Psary is manifestation of new forms of cooperation envisaged in the complex scientific-technological progress program of CMEA member states till the year 2000 and also in government agreements between Poland and the Soviet Union.

Culture Minister Ends Visit to Cuba

LD230221 Warsaw PAP in English
0115 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Havana, Feb. 22—Polish Minister of Culture and Art Aleksander Krawczuk paid an official visit to Cuba at the invitation from Cuban Culture Minister Armando Hart Davalos.

The two ministers had working meetings during which they discussed the most important questions of the development of culture in their countries and forms of enriching hitherto cultural cooperation.

They paid a lot of attention to preparations for the coming conference of culture ministers of socialist countries. Minister Krawczuk proposed to organize the days of Cuban Culture in Poland in 1989 to mark the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Poles Positively Assess Foreign Policy

LD231206 Warsaw PAP in English
1140 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 23—Asked by the Public Opinion Research Centre how they evaluate Polish Government's foreign policy, over 73 per cent of the respondents recognized it as "positive" and in tune with the interest of society. Every fifth respondent had a negative opinion and every twentieth had no personal opinion on the matter.

Every second participant of the Poll, held under the motto "World surrounding us" in October of last year, was convinced that Poland's position in the international arena had improved. 36 per cent of those polled were of the opinion that it did not change, further 13 per cent said that it had worsened.

Messner Addresses Party Secretaries

LD200042 Warsaw PAP in English
2220 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 19—Addressing the participants of a meeting of first secretaries of the basic PUWP cells (POP) from the Warsaw Voivodship, held here today, Premier Zbigniew Messner said that the conference, which is to serve an increased effectiveness of the basic cells' work, is convergent with what the government regards as being of primary importance. The need of effectiveness is currently taking on a supreme significance.

After long and difficult discussions, after the nationwide referendum—"The realizational programme of the second stage of the economic reform" was at last adopted. From declaring the need and indispensability of radical actions we have moved to their implementation in reality.

With what tasks does the present situation charge the party active and its ordinary members. The answer to this question—Messner said—takes on even more significance since we are faced by the obvious need of working out new methods of action. The party—its committees and basic cells in enterprises— cannot confine its actions to taking over the duties of administrations of enterprises or institutions. We frequently say that the party, in order to reform—must reform itself. First of all, there is no reform without the party. Not only because it was we—during the 9th and 10th congress—who initiated renewal and restructuring, specifying their directions. Also—and first and foremost—because the reform of socio-political life cannot succeed without persistent political work.

Will we, as a party, be able to shun responsibility in the event of the reform's failure, Messner asked. There is no speaking about the strengthening of our role as a driving force model of the party's functioning. I am not alone in the conviction that a change of the essence and style of the functioning of the basic cells will be of decisive importance here, Messner said. The party leadership supports and will continue to support such transformations with all available means.

It has already been impressed in social conscience that in the second stage of reforms we go for liberation of enterprise. Enterprise, the premier stressed, is first of all indispensable to all socialist state enterprises. So far, growth in number of initiatives and innovations occurring in particular sectors is, however, reversely proportional to the sectors' share in the structure of the economy.

We hope that abolishment of limitations which more often than not choke socialized enteprises today will yield the fruit of technical, technological and organizational initiatives, which, in turn, will be crowned with higher supply and production effectiveness in the final calculation.

Saying that difficult, as always and everywhere, is the progress of things new, the premeir stressed that on the one hand we had positive effects of autonomy, self-management and self-financing, while on the other we encounter examples of conservatice, traditional habits being preserved.

He exemplified the theses with applications enterprises submit to the minister for industry for subsidies, exempts, priorities and raw materials allotment. The founding bodies, he said, are no longer a go-between when settling the affairs of an enterprise with other state's bodies. Such is the sense of the change in functions of the administration, which is a direct consequence of the reforms' fundamental laws.

Rather vivid controversy about restructuring of prices has not been accompanied, he said, by attempts to show their real relation to cost calculation in a given enterprise and to curbing the subsidy policy, their relation to sound and literally wise management, that is.

The same, the premier went on, applies to remuneration discipline. It is of strategic nature if balance is to be restored in the economy.

But is the point to put a mechanical brake to wages growth in all the enterprises, irrespective of their economic results. The idea is, he stressed, to enable good and efficient enterprises and crews to receive good pay. But they will not be able to get it as long as good pay is available also in enterprises where work results are poor.

Thus, there is no other point but to [word indistinct] maintain a proportion between pay and work results.

As it is known successes have many fathers, said Messner. Defeats are orphans. Price hikes are willingly presented to factory personnels. However, is it not the grassroot party organization which should initiate the presentation by the factory management of the actual economic situation of their work establishment when need arises to confront the hard reality. The universal justification in the form of referring to alleged bad mechanisms, ceased to be of use. When one has (full) freedom of manoeuvre—the prime minister emphasized—this does not mean that one is automatically free from bearing the consequences of one's own decisions. On the contrary, such freedom underlines the responsibility for the decision-making. The "centre", the prime minister went on, ceases to interfere in the decisions of self-reliant economic units. However, in the case of pay rises higher than the adopted principles, the government organs will not fail to collect taxes.

Informing those gathered about some decisions Messner said that in the immediate future the government would present to the Sejm a draft for amending the law on work establishment wage systems. New collective labour contracts and new work establishment contracts will be concluded. Should the entitlements be included into wages and taxed just like all the components of the wages. Or should they continue to be viewed as social benefits, asked the prime minister. Explaining this problem he said that irrespective of the results of the negotations concerning collective agreements this issue should be presented in a clear-cut way: as of April 1 the coal entitlement of eight tonnes will be worth 120,000 zloties. So it will be close to one-fourth of the average annual wage. The social security character of such an entitlement thwarts the motivating function of the wage. Also, this function was weakened, whether we want it or not, by the 6-thousand allowance given recently to all employees.

Premier Messner deemed as difficult the problems which will be connected with the tightening of savings requirements or restructuring. The first decisions about the halting or limiting of investments—he said—have been made. Work forces and, therefore, their party organizations may become faced by the need of shifting employees and the means of production to other activities and even—to other enterprises. The premier stressed that the restructuring is not taking place in economists' offices but in concrete conditions with all ensuing consequences and difficulties.

Warsaw—said the premier—is the seat of all the supreme organs of the state administration. The proper shaping of their functions, structures, seclection of cadres, therefore, occupy a permanent place in the party organization's social activity. Legal and organizational conditions for the work of the reformed central administration have been created. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to regard the already achieved results as the end of the restructuring of the "centre". It is a process requiring stubborness and consistency— just like the whole reform.

The government is accelerating marshalling actions, Messner said. The most important problem is the working out of a new type of relation between the "centre" and enterprises. The central organs are not and will never again be the exponent of the interests of enterprises and industries. There basic function is the realization of the state's policy in various fields. The sooner this truth materializes—the better for the reform.

In the final part of his address Premier Messner said that Warsaw has all the predispositions to be—even more than today—a leading centre in all areas of life. To radiate new ideas throughout the whole country and be the first to realize them. For such is Warsaw's duty to Poland.

Kubasiewicz Views Warsaw Party Problems

AU221330 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Feb 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of PZPR Committee in Warsaw, by PAP Correspondent Jan Rozdzynski: "The Worst Thing Is Pretending That 'There Is No Case'"—date and place not given]

[Text] Tough economic reality has become hardly intelligible and even astounding for many people in and out of Warsaw. Is the Warsaw party organization able to lead work forces and institutions through the complicated second stage of the economic reform? Your PAP correspondent talked about this issue with Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Warsaw, on the eve of the annual meeting between the Executive Committee and the first party secretaries of the primary party organizations of Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship.

[Rozdzynski] I propose that we should not use in this interview phrases such as "the party should," "it is necessary," "there must be," and so on.

[Kubasiewicz] I understand your intentions and agree to avoid such phrases. Under the present complicated socioeconomic situation and in view of the specific conditions prevailing in every enterprise and institution it is impossible to suggest ready recipes for "economic conduct." On the other hand, we can supply party aktivs and nonparty people with knowledge, and we have been doing this for a number of years now. The "economic laboratory," which is a familiar institution in Warsaw, is only one of the many forms of active practical education.

We continue not only to give advice, but also to propose how to use the reform mechanisms in daily practice. However, not everyone takes advantage of our help. Some party organizations in enterprises refuse to grasp their opportunities in this connection, but many others, including the Swierczewski precision instruments plant, the agricultural circles' cooperative of Lazy in Kampinos Gmina, the Okecie transportation equipment plant, and the Polon plant, behave differently. Party organizations in these plants are often "impatient" in searching for new solutions and reject the present methods of activities, which to some people seem to be the only methods that can be relied on. These examples also illustrate the existence of a new phenomenon: Some party organizations have begun to clearly change their action style.

[Rozdzynski] This is a capital issue because some people still reduce their party membership to paying membership fees, and when asked about their responsibility for the course and speed of the reform, say that this is the responsibility of managers... and bookkeepers.

[Kubasiewicz] I do not deny that the Warsaw party organization also has members like that, ones who are passive and who want just to comment on party activities. There are also the kibitzers, who watch events from afar and claim party membership only when we score successes.

However, I think that we are able to cope with such attitudes with increasing effectiveness. It is enough to say that in the past 2 years we have removed over 200 members from the party, because they were unworthy to be party members for various reasons, including the aforementioned ones. We have held cautionary talks with almost 500 party members and have meted out party punishment to almost 250 party members. However, the thing is not to go too far. We should educate and provide opportunities for such members to improve their conduct. All you have to do at times is to talk people into such improvement. We did this with some party members in leading positions at the end of last year when we prepared a joint plenum of the Warsaw Committee and the Warsaw Voivodship People's Council devoted to cadre policy. However, most party members are militant. After all, one reason for the fact that we have admitted 3,485 candidates into the Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship party has been the militancy of our party members.

[Rozdzynski] However, there must be some reasons for passive conduct.

[Kubasiewicz] I do not want to harp on the recent past, but I think that the party's ideological crisis is one of the reasons passive conduct. However, it is still not being duly appreciated. It is this crisis that I consider to be one of the reasons why some party members are passive. The fourth and sixth Central Committee plenums criticized such attitudes and told party members how to behave and act. Some members try to escape their responsibilities for the reform because they are often afraid of confronting their knowledge with the reality of economic development. It is probable that the appropriate primary party organizations have failed to ensure that such comrades study more closely the party program, weigh it against the conditions of their departments, and realize that several factors determine the results of their departments. One of these factors is the party organization side by side with enterprise management, the workers council, the trade union, and the youth organization. The powers of these factors are intertwined, but this does not relieve the party organizations of playing their leading role as servants....

[Rozdzynski] Which role is it that often produces various difficulties under the uneasy conditions of the reform? What should be done to reconcile the interests of work forces with the needs of society?

[Kubasiewicz] It is true that various difficulties exist, but it is precisely the task of party organizations to settle all problems and influence the necessary decisions with the help of their representatives on the workers self-management bodies and trade unions, with the help of open cadre policy, and so on. These are the statutory powers and duties of party organizations. The worst thing that can occur in conflict situations is what I would define as pretending that "there is no case." Another thing I cannot come to terms with is the fact that I do not know of any party organization in Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship that has ever questioned the procedure by which prices are fixed for the final products turned out by the enterprise.

I have attended very many party meetings, during which participants loudly questioned the procedures by which such prices are fixed, but this questioning did not concern the procedures in their own enterprises, but in the neighboring enterprises, which, after all, have their own primary party organization, trade union, and self-management bodies.

Other subjects that are only rarely tackled by party organizations are the appraisal of the quality of products, the effectiveness of using working time, and so on. We all know that these subjects are wearisome, but this does not relieve anyone of the duty to reform obsolete organizational and production structures.

[Rozdzynski] But the party organization has to reform itself before reforming anything else.

[Kubasiewicz] Yes. Reforming the work style and thinking is now the party's most urgent task. In our Warsaw organization we initiate and at times resume the forms of work that involve primary party organizations and all party members and attract nonparty people. The following fact illustrates this: In 1987 regular workers and members of the Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the Warsaw PZPR Committee actively participated in over 2,500 meetings of the primary party organizations. In addition, specially invited workers and veterans of the worker movement continue to attend the executive meetings of the Warsaw PZPR Committee. That is why it was with astonishment that I learned that some primary party organizations had not agreed to hold accountability meetings in the presence of nonparty people. What were they afraid of? Were they afraid of their laziness or of the incomplete results of their work? Did they ask themselves for actually whose good they do their work? I stress once again: Reforms, flexible thinking, and openness to new and modern forms of activity are more necessary for the party than they ever have been.

[Rozdzynski] Everyone will agree that this slogan is correct. But let us pose the question in another way: How are primary party organizations to do their work today when the "command" methods of work have to be abandoned?

[Kubasiewicz] You should know that many party organizations failed to fully discharge their statutory duties under the conditions of the "command" methods of work. Today we must draw the necessary conclusions from this. First of all the party aktivs and, especially, the first secretaries of the primary party organizations must have at their disposal an up-to-date and complete knowledge of the situation in their enterprises, must respond quickly, and must be able to select the most correct solutions from the riches of the opportunities created by the reform. Party members must be really active in this process, because those who are absent can never be right. It goes without saying that errors are inevitable, but this inevitability will be reduced if the political activities of primary party organizations—these activities should not be confused with management—are also based on the experience and wisdom of nonparty people and are more independent.

[Rozdzynski] In your statements you continue to replace formulations such as the "party should" and so on, by the formulation "must." This attests to a new approach to those issues. Your views are the views of a representative of the "top." Do the "grassroots," that is, the aktivs of the primary party organizations in Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship also profess these views?

[Kubasiewicz] Your differentiation is incorrect. These views not only represent the thoughts of the first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, but are also a result of several scores of community meetings during which various issues were discussed before the meeting at the Congress Hall. Actually, the confrontation between what you call the "top" and the "grassroots" has already taken place. The meeting held at the Warsaw PZL-WZM mechanical plant criticized the inconsistency of cadre policy and excessive accountability. The meeting at the Supersam super market, the party secretaries who engage in trading regretted that our market is still the producer's market.

Last Wednesday the comrades from the party aktivs in publishing and cultural agencies told me that harmoniously combining cultural policy with the principles of the economic reform is not only possible, but also creates opportunities for culture, provided the necessary system is established.

That the differentiation is artificial is attested to by the fact that 2 weeks ago I talked in an enterprise with an old PZPR member, a worker, about the slalom-like movements that enterprise management has to perform in order to be able to observe the ever changing regulations. "This is what management is for," that worker told me. "The party must not let anyone else do this. The party must take care of the interest of enterprises and reconcile it with the interest of all of us. It is high time to realize that we cannot avoid politics in enterprises and not even in shops." I regard these words as the most relevant commentary on the meeting at the Congress Hall.

State Council Examines Local Government

AU221524 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Feb 88 pp 1,2

[Excerpt] PAP—There was a meeting of the State Council at the Belvedere on 18 February. The State Council heard a report on the first results of the work of the civic consultative bodies attached to voivodship people's councils. Such bodies have already been created in 16 voivodships. They consist of representatives of many prestigious opinion-forming circles and socioprofessional groups, with varied political convictions and differences in world outlook. Therefore, the social composition of these bodies is in harmony with their established aim of providing a new forum at which to discuss views about important matters for a given region or voivodship, enhance the idea of national accord, and shape sociopolitical policy and encourage people to take an active part in it. Most of these bodies have already held three or four meetings, which discussed organizational matters and established the agenda of future meetings and ways in which the conclusions reached during these meetings should be publicized.

The agenda of future meetings is dominated by matters concerning the development of individual voivodships. Detailed topics include housing construction, environmental protection, health, culture, and social wrongdoing. The plans of some of the bodies include discussions on matters of general social importance such as cadre policy, the economic reform, the development of nuclear energy, and so on. They have already discussed such important issues as the referendum, preparations for the reform, and the amendments to the law on people's councils and territorial self-governments. The meetings of the civic consultative bodies are marked by honest, uninhibited views which display civic commitment and a desire for concrete action.

The State Council praised the work of the civic consultative bodies. In particular, it praised those bodies in the voivodships of Gdansk and Poznan. It said that they display the openness of local authorities toward dialogue with all social groups and a readiness to hear and take advantage of the opinions of leading personalities in local communities. The only criterion for participation in this dialogue is an appropriate level of civic concern for the country's social and economic development. The State Council considered the open nature of the civic consultative bodies to be correct, and supports the practice of accepting anyone willing to join them. The State Council underlined the importance of giving the conclusions of these bodies serious treatment, and said that they should be analyzed by the chairmen of the people's councils with a view to further implementation.

Next, the State Council examined the Ministry of Finance's proposed changes to the budgets of people's councils and proposals by the Office of the Council of Ministers to coordinate the law on people's councils and territorial self-managements with existing laws on local government. These proposals supplement the previous proposals on amending the 20 July 1983 law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-governments, these proposals currently being the subject of social consultation. Having analyzed the new proposals, the State Council submitted them to the team that had worked out the original proposals. It underlined the need to examine all proposals jointly with the opinions that have been presented during the social consultation. [passage omitted]

Students Demonstrate at Warsaw University

AU221511 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
20-21 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] Yesterday [19 February] more than 1,000 students demonstrated for higher scholarships, an improvement of their social situation, and the readmission of the Independent Students' Association at Warsaw University.

Radio Free Europe on Agricultural Foundation

LD222237 Warsaw PAP in English
2104 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Shortly after the inauguration ceremony at the Warsaw Royal Castle of the foundation for the development of Polish agriculture the Radio Free Europe voiced last Saturday its dissatisfaction over this fact. Jacek Kalabinski, fresh RFE expert on agricultural and financial issues, authoritatively stated that "the mountain has brought forth a mouse" and the only reason that they gave David Rockefeller a rousing welcome in Warsaw was that they did not know—the quite naive ones—that Rockefeller himself "does not own half of the world's money".

In Warsaw the foundation was treated as a positive gesture of a known international foundation for the development and modernization of Polish agriculture that, as David Rockefeller put it, has a huge potential. Defined was the first implementing program, an increase in the production of pork for exports and domestic market, and secured were its self-financing activities.

The foundation's council is headed by 1970 Nobel laureate, regarded as the father of the so-called green revolution, Prof Norman Borlaug. Co-chairmen are merited Polish fruit-grower, Prof Szczepan Pieniazek and former agriculture minister of the FRG Josef Ertl.

Rockefeller stressed at the Royal Castle that the foundation is not only a formula for economic progress but also a model of international cooperation serving consolidation of peace in the world.

And what is here to be liked by the friendly towards Poland RFE.

General Views Establishment of Katyn Monument

LD102303 Warsaw PAP in English
1740 GMT 19 Feb 88

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 19—In an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA today Gen. Roman Paszkowski, the chairman of the Council for the Protection of Remembrance of Struggle and Martyrdom, stated in part:

"In the coming months a delegation of the council will leave for a trip around Lithuania and Belorussia. This is because under the recently adopted law we should concern ourselves with commemorating facts from our whole history. That is why we plan to visit the Lychakovski Cemetery in Lvov and the cemetery in Vilnus' Rosa District where the ashes of great Poles rest.

"In April a group of specialists comprising architects, painters and sculptors will visit Katyn to think of a befitting way to commemorate this site. Representatives of the Polish Embassy have been for years laying flowers and wreaths in Katyn on the occasion of state holidays and anniversaries."

Leaders Public Appearances 10-16 Feb

AU191426 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish from 11 through 17 February reports the following public appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Politburo Member Kazimierz Barcikowski attended the 13 February Warsaw session of the State Council Commission for the Protection of the Natural Environment discussing current tasks (15 Feb p 2); on 15 February he received new Zaire Ambassador Ipoto Eyebu Bakandasi (16 Feb p 2).

Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak received the leadership of the International Committee for Children's and Adolescents' Movements on 15 February (16 Feb p 2).

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received Ryszard Karski, Polish ambassador in the FRG, on 10 February (11 Feb p 2); on 11 February he received Geza Kotail, head of the MSZMP Central Committee Foreign Department (12 Feb p 2); on 12 February he received departing Afghan Ambassador Abdul Qader (13-14 Feb p 2); on 15 February he received Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador in the USSR (16 Feb p 2).

Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek received the delegation of the Czechoslovak Secretariat for Religious Affairs on 11 February (12 Feb p 2).

Politburo Candidate Member Manfred Gorywoda met with Karol Tkocz, meritorious party activist in Silesia, on the occasion of his 80th birthday on 13 February (15 Feb p 2).

Politburo Candidate Member Janusz Kubasiewicz attended the 13 February party meeting in the Ministry of Industry in Warsaw (15 Feb p 2).

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, met with participants in the Warsaw seminar on the second stage of the economic reform in agriculture on 11 February (12 Feb p 2).

Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the 13 February Warsaw meeting which discussed issues of national education (15 Feb p 2).

Ceausescu Addresses Agriculture Plenum

AU221320 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
20 Feb 88 pp 1, 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at an expanded plenum of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management in Bucharest 19 February]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: The plenum of the National Council of Agriculture and of the other sectors has discussed the results achieved in fulfilling the 1987 plan and programs. In addition, it has worked out the necessary measures to fulfill the 1988 plan and programs in order to considerably increase the contribution of agriculture—a basic branch of our national economy—to the execution of the socioeconomic development plan and the advance of Romania toward new heights of progress and civilization. (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; long chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

An important increase in agricultural yields, foodstuffs, and other sectors was achieved last year under complex weather conditions. As was mentioned during the proceedings of the plenum of the National Council of Agriculture, a significant number of units achieved yields of more than 8,000 kg wheat and barley per hectare and more than 20,000 kg of corn cobs per hectare. Important levels of output were reached in other agricultural sectors as well.

However, we must say frankly that, on the whole, 1987 yields fell short of plan provisions. This was also discussed last year. This plenum reviewed that problem and examined—critically and self-critically—the shortfalls in various areas, beginning with the management of the Ministry of Agriculture and continuing on to numerous state and cooperative agricultural units.

True, we had good yields of some 31 million tonnes of grain, which was a decisive step toward reaching the targets of the agrarian revolution. There were better yields in a number of industrial plants, especially in the sunflower and other sectors. Some 88 agricultural units—state enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, and agricultural machinery units—have been awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." This morning I awarded this distinction to some of those units. At the same time, there are other units with large yields on smaller plots of land. However, there are others that do not meet the legal qualifications to receive the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution."

For the second time, Olt County has been awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" for its wheat output. Ilfov's agricultural sector has received the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" for its wheat, corn, and other yields.

I would like to convey my warmest congratulations to all units, Olt County, and Ilfov's agricultural sector on being awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." In addition, I wish them success in their efforts to at least meet the yields of last year and to improve all their activities in keeping with the targets of the new agrarian revolution, the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society, and the plans for Romania's advance toward communism. (loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

I also want to congratulate all units that have achieved large yields within the framework of socialist emulation and that will, certainly, be rewarded accordingly and in line with provisions and criteria.

Furthermore, I want to congratulate all our peasantry and all working people in agriculture who, through their activity, have contributed to good yields throughout the country. Thus, they have created conditions for the steady progress of our agriculture on the road of the agrarian revolution and for its increased contribution to our homeland's development in general. I want to convey to all of them my best wishes for success, and I would like to call on them to work so that, by the end of this year, a great number of units and counties will be awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution!" (loud applause, cheers; repeated chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed Comrades, the discussions within the high democratic forum of the peasantry and agricultural working people permitted you to draw all necessary conclusions both from what is good, and also from shortfalls and failings that were obvious in 1987. In these thorough and democratic discussions, which included the aktiv and basic cadres, together with cooperative farmers and agricultural working people, a number of problems were examined. On the basis of these discussions, we must now move to deeds to commendably fulfill the 1988 plan and programs.

The targets for this year are well known! We must also achieve the best results in agriculture in 1988. However, I want to stress that we must work so that this year's yields will the best ever achieved by our agriculture. (loud applause) Very responsible work must be done, so that this year will be decisive for the implementation of the new agrarian revolution, for the achievement of large yields of all crops, and for changes in our work style and methods in general and in the awareness and manner of work of the peasants and of all working people in agriculture! (loud applause)

It is necessary to proceed with greater determination to use all our lands more rationally. This is the basis for reaching all targets in agriculture.

At least 10,500,000 hectares must be sown with crops this year.

The entire area of 4,500,000 hectares of pastures and grasslands must be cultivated and managed in keeping with program provisions.

At the same time, vineyards and orchards, which make up some 600,000 hectares, must be managed in a more responsible way. This can be done by completing them where necessary, thus ensuring rational plantations.

Therefore, we must ensure the proper progress of agricultural work on 15,600,000 hectares.

Similarly, we must properly guarantee the preparation of at least 3,500,000 hectares of forestry areas for grazing.

To do all this we must add at least 500,000 hectares of companion crops on lands with row crops, in vineyards, and in orchards.

In keeping with our program, at least 2 million hectares must be sown with secondary crops and at least 400,000 hectares with corn for seed corn.

In sum, this year's agricultural work must be conducted on 18 million hectares.

I am emphasizing this, as this type of work is occasionally forgotten, and only the 10,500,000 arable hectares are taken into consideration. All activity on these 18,000,000 hectares is decisive if we are to meet the planned yields for the current year and ensure that the animal breeding program is put into effect.

On the whole, decisive measures are required to implement all programs for our various sectors and subsectors. I am aware that all these problems have been discussed, and I hope the significant lags in a number of these programs were noted. Thus, we must see to it that this year's agricultural activity produces a radical change in work and in the attitude toward all forms of work and the implementation of all our agrarian programs! This is the only way we can guarantee—I repeat—the fulfillment of this year's plan. It is also the sole method to create conditions that will make 1988 the year of our greatest accomplishments. (loud, prolonged applause)

More determined measures are necessary to carry out irrigation and land improvement operations! You are familiar with the programs and plan for this. I only want to point out that this year there must be more than 4 million hectares under irrigation. We must also take firmer action if we are to appropriately use and irrigate the areas we have planned for the current year.

It is on this basis that we have actually planned a considerable increase in yields because we cannot conceive of less than at least 20,000 kg of corn cobs, some 8,000 kg wheat and barley, 4,000 kg of sunflower and soybean per hectare, and, accordingly, other crops.

As a matter of fact, in the socialist sector we have irrigated almost 50 percent of corn fields, some 40 percent of wheat fields, similar areas sown with barley and other crops, and all vegetable fields. On this basis—I want to repeat—we must carry out such activity so as to achieve the planned yields!

More determined measures are necessary to use tractors and other machinery, as well as chemical and organic fertilizers, with maximum effectiveness.

At the same time, we must guarantee that all agricultural operations are in keeping with the most modern achievements of agricultural science, while taking into account the very good results achieved in numerous agricultural units. This requires that technologies, crop density, and the planting period be observed. There must no longer be units that sow corn at the beginning of June; I am referring to primary crops. Especially under this year's conditions, we must—by all means—finish sowing all crops by 15 April at the latest! I will come back to this later, because by Monday we have to begin all planting work and this year's spring operations.

I have talked only about some essential requirements for the fulfillment of this year's plan and the overall 5-year plan. You have discussed all these problems at length during this meeting. I hope that all problems have been properly clarified and that no county, agricultural directorate, cooperative chairman or state director, director of agricultural machinery unit, and chief engineer or any kind of engineer will still be prey to conservative and backward concepts in agriculture about the planting periods, density, and all operations and technological and technical requirements to ensure large yields.

Moving from all these measures, this year we must focus on achieving grain yields that will match the requirements of the new agrarian revolution. We have all the necessary conditions for us to achieve the grain yield foreseen for all sectors this year! We must ensure the optimum production of industrial plants and of oil-producing plants. By no means should last year's situation be repeated. The measures we have taken on flax and hemp are known, and I do not want to dwell on them now.

In market gardening, action has to be taken both to increase output, in accordance with plan provisions, and to appropriately diversify them. We must produce at least 12 million tonnes of various kinds of vegetables if we are to ensure proper supplies for our people. Similarly, we must ensure a more vigorous increase in grape and fruit yields and an improvement in all activities in this important sector!

Particular attention must be paid to the livestock sector. The results of this year's animal census are unsatisfactory, especially where cattle and sheep are concerned. There are counties that have not only failed to achieve an increase, but have registered a considerable decrease in cattle and sheep, compared with last year.

This has been discussed with the comrades in the management of agriculture, and it was decided that all problems and programs of measures should be discussed within groups in counties and councils. I have been informed that this discussion has taken place. However, this did not make up for the losses registered last year in the animal breeding sector caused by the serious shortfalls in this field regarding the birth rate, proper tending of animals, and the high mortality rate among young animals because of so-called emergency slaughtering, improper feeding, and other things. I want to draw attention to this problem with all seriousness. Even in the past few days we received a report that, as a result of feeding fodder with a high insecticide content, a large number of cattle died in an agricultural cooperative. This is not the only case! I want to draw attention to the fact that, in general, we must be very careful with weed killers and various chemical products to combat various pests. We went much too far here last year as well. We must stop the abuse of insecticides and fungicides and use natural means as was customary in the past! We must apply the rules of agricultural science, which considerably limit—and in some cases—rule out the use of insecticides and fungicides. For, if animals die from abuse of insecticides and fungicides, we must realize that these chemicals are also contained in corn, wheat, tomatoes, and other produce. This could seriously affect people's health. The management of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health—which is also responsible here—as well as each county, must understand that the problem of abusing insecticides and fungicides endangers people's lives. As such, they must no longer tolerate such things!

However, returning to the problem of animals, another cause of a decrease in livestock is arbitrary slaughter in excess of plan provisions. We will continue to examine these problems and will certainly call the offenders to account. No one is permitted to violate the country's laws in this respect!

The programs for increasing livestock this year have been formulated. Once at home, all these problems must be examined by each county, and plans must be worked out for each state and cooperative unit and for the other agricultural units in the research and other fields. This must also be done for each village and private farm in areas without cooperatives, as well as in the households of cooperative members, so as to make sure that we reach the number of livestock planned for this year. We must attain the number of cattle and sheep to allow us to guarantee proper supplies in the future for the people and ensure we have the raw materials we need—I am referring to hides, wool, and other produce. I am saying this so that it is well understood—you are the basic cadres, we are a democratic body, and we must discuss things openly with all our people. This will make them realize that the implementation of the programs for the development of agriculture and of the country can be ensured only by fulfilling the plan and programs and by observing order and discipline in all sectors of activity! (loud, prolonged applause)

More determined measures are needed to increase milk, egg, and wool production. The problem is one of choosing the best people for the animal-breeding sector and of developing—beginning in schools—their love for animals and their desire to care for them. After all, animals are an asset without which man cannot live.

More determined measures are needed to guarantee the more favorable condition of the fodder base! That is why I discussed all this activity, which must be carried out on the 18 million hectares. This is the only way we will be able to ensure that we have everything necessary to secure proper feed for our animals and increase agricultural yields.

On the whole, in all sectors we have everything needed to implement this year's plan and programs. We have a good material-technical base. The land we have—if properly tilled and managed—will permit us to reach the planned level of output. And above all, we have wonderful cooperative farmers and working people in agriculture who have demonstrated that they are able and know how to farm under favorable conditions, raise our agriculture to a constantly higher level of development, increase the role of agriculture as a decisive lever of socialist construction, and improve our people's well-being in general! (loud applause, cheers; repeated chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

Esteemed Comrades, in agriculture, and, in fact, throughout our economy and in other socioeconomic sectors, in the course of the years we have taken a number of steps to improve the management and planning of all activities. We moved from the practice of socialist construction in our country. Undoubtedly, we also took experience into consideration. We moved from generally valid laws, but took note of the fact that they cannot be applied in patterned or cliched ways and that, in agriculture, we have to take into consideration—and we have done so—the specific conditions in our country. We have created a broad, democratic framework, which is part and parcel of our workers revolutionary democracy and which ensures the participation of all people in the management of all areas by moving from the fact that socialism is being built with and for the people.

Socialist agriculture must be achieved with and for the peasantry, because only thus will agriculture always be an important part of our development on the road to socialism and communism! (loud applause, cheers; repeated chants of "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—our esteem and pride!") I am stressing this because I have noted in some places that the role of agricultural production cooperatives, of managerial councils in cooperatives, in state agricultural enterprises, and in agricultural machinery units is somewhat underrated, as is the role of cooperative farmers and of working people in agriculture. Certain forms of bureaucracy and red tape have developed, and this has already led to inappropriate activity and poor results in various units. Where there are positive results, one can note properly operating democratic forms and the active participation of all peasants and working people in all activities. We cannot implement the agrarian revolution and achieve good yields without all the peasantry and working people in agriculture! (loud, prolonged applause)

Bureaucracy, red tape, and an individualistic attitude in office work, without a close relationship with people in the field where, in fact, the production is being done, must be eliminated by all means! We must firmly apply the principles of self-management and self-administration in all areas. I have listened with great satisfaction to what some comrades said about positive results, about increasing both production and economic efficiency, and about the fact that they are covering all their expenses. We have many—state and cooperative—units with positive results. Unfortunately, however, most of them do not appropriately ensure self-financing. We must make these basic, socialist principles of agricultural management operate under the best of conditions! We must improve activities in state agricultural enterprises and in our democratic leadership bodies even more. In addition, we must enhance their responsibility for meeting our production plans under the best of conditions. Similarly, the responsibility of state agricultural enterprises, which hold the plans for all units and enterprises within these corporations, must increase.

The responsibility of the Department of State Agricultural Enterprises must increase. In actual fact—to say this frankly—on the whole we cannot be satisfied with how state agricultural enterprises, including the Department of State Agricultural Enterprises, carried out their activity last year. More order and discipline are needed, so that a real change in all activities is made this year. We should not have a great number of state agricultural enterprises that have low levels of output and are in poorer economic shape than agricultural production cooperatives. I do not want you to think that cooperatives should work less. However, we cannot tolerate a worse situation in state agricultural enterprises than in cooperatives!

We must improve activities and enhance the role of agricultural production cooperatives! Each agricultural cooperative holds a plan, and the county—as county plan holder—must ensure that each agricultural cooperative has its own plan and is responsible for its fulfillment. The plan must by endorsed by the general meeting. This holds true in practice for state agricultural enterprises and—as you know—for our entire economy.

We must ensure an improvement in the activity of the managerial councils and in the activity of the general meetings of agricultural cooperatives. We must pay greater attention to who is admitted as member of the managerial councils. We must ensure that the best cooperative members from all sectors, who are characterized by an exacting and highly responsible attitude, become members of the managerial council—and not on the basis of friendships or family ties! We must see to it that the chairmen of agricultural cooperatives also include the best people from among cooperative members.

I want to stress that abuses were committed when some cooperative farmers or workers who were chairmen were removed from the leadership of agricultural cooperatives and then engineers were appointed who are not members of the respective cooperative, although the statute stipulates clearly that only a member of the given cooperative can be chairman. We have good agricultural cooperative chairmen, but we also have some who do not meet the requirements for a chairman and who were carelessly appointed to this position.

I am raising this problem in this democratic discussion, so that it is examined and that the necessary conclusions may be drawn! I repeat, we must ensure that the agricultural cooperative, the general meeting, and the council represent the desire of all cooperative members and that they ensure the proper management and development of the given unit! It is no secret to anyone that many agricultural cooperatives, which are leading units today as well, were and still are led by cooperative members from the ranks of the peasantry, who have proved to be good managers and good Communists, and who have acquired technical knowledge, shown great courage, and firmly applied the new achievements of agricultural sciences! (loud, prolonged applause)

It is necessary to enhance the role of engineers to a greater extent and to increase their responsibility! Let us think and examine the extent to which our educational programs meet the new requirements posed for an agronomist, not only from the point of view of agricultural technologies, but also from that of managing large agricultural units—including economic problems and everything about agricultural activity.

As a matter of fact, we have to revise the programs we have for the annual training of chairmen of agricultural production cooperatives and other managerial cadres, which are hardly implemented any more.

The National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives and the county unions of agricultural production cooperatives must improve their activities considerably. As is well known, the agricultural machines and tractor units play a decisive role in carrying out all basic agricultural operations. Appropriate measures have to be taken to eliminate negative things in the activity of agricultural machinery units, including the performance of agricultural operations on schedule and under favorable conditions.

Order and discipline must be strengthened, in conformity with the technologies and laws that regulate this activity. In addition, we must ensure the firm application of the principle that states that all operations by agricultural machinery units must be paid for on the basis of yields and the number of hectares involved.

Within the framework of democratic leadership, in agriculture we have set up joint agroindustrial councils to ensure both the coordination of the activity in the given sector, better specialization, performance of work undertaken jointly, and the fulfillment of all requirements established in this field. I believe that more determined measures are necessary on the part of the county bodies, especially the county party committees and people's councils, to ensure proper activity within the joint agroindustrial councils, so that all programs in their area of activity are implemented.

In the field of the remuneration and incomes of cooperative members and of the other working people in agriculture, we have adopted a number of measures by moving from the need to firmly apply the overall contract system and the principle of material incentive—basic socialist principles to ensure that all incomes of the working people in agriculture and of the peasantry are closely and directly linked to the yields achieved.

I believe that the provisions we have are, in general, positive. There are still some units and even counties trying to level incomes to the detriment of those who achieve high yields. By no means must we permit a decrease in the planned remuneration in accordance with yields. On the whole, the stocks in kind we ensured last year totaled 10 million tonnes of grains such as wheat, corn, barley, and oats, including the private plots of land of cooperative farmers and private producers. This almost equals the production that was achieved in 1954, 1956, and 1957 throughout the country. On this basis, we ensure greater material incentives and the amounts of grains and other agricultural produce that by right belong to the cooperative farmers. Their increase is closely linked to an even greater increase in agricultural yields! It rests, therefore, with all units to ensure more agricultural produce through larger agricultural yields. Only occasionally is it possible—as was the case last year in some counties affected by drought—to take from other units and other counties and supply the counties or units that have not fulfilled their production plan. We can resort to this only in exceptional cases of natural calamities. However, when we speak about "calamity" linked to poor organization and unsatisfactory work, we cannot resort to such a solution! This has to be well understood by all those who are working in agriculture, by all peasantry, and all working people in all areas! We have begun from the fact that in conformity with output, incomes—both in kind and money—should be unlimited. But only in conformity with production! No one can receive any pay without work! This holds also true for engineers, directors, chairmen, and for agricultural machinery units—and we must firmly apply the socialist principle of material incentive in agriculture, as, in fact, in all areas! (loud applause)

The Ministry of Agriculture and the county agricultural bodies should change the method and style of their work and completely put an end to red tape, formalism, and pen-pushing attitudes in finding solutions to various problems. As I have already mentioned on other occasions, we should pay attention to the activity of this ministry and to the activity its bodies carry out in various units, because the destiny of production is decided there. We will not increase agricultural production or national income by using up tonnes of paper! On the contrary, we reduce national income by using paper and manpower for things that are in no way useful! All activity of the agricultural bodies, from top to bottom, should be linked to life, to work performed in the units, to daily production, and to the need to seek solutions, on time and in a spirit of great responsibility, to all the problems that crop up in agriculture!

As I have already mentioned, the same also holds true for county agricultural bodies. On the basis of self-management, each county has its own plan for agricultural production and for all sectors of activity.

In accordance with the provisions of the law, the people's councils are directly responsible for and actually are the plan holders [titulare] of the county's agriculture—the agricultural directorate carries out its activity under the supervision and management of the county people's council. Accordingly, all the people's councils—town or village councils—must be aware that they are responsible for all agricultural activity, particularly for what is being carried out on private farms, in the livestock-breeding sector, and in the other branches we have mentioned here.

Starting from these facts, the county, town, and village party committees and the party organizations in all state and cooperative agricultural units should increase their responsibility more markedly. There would be many things to discuss on this issue. But we discussed these problems in the second part of last year. We cannot call it a communist and a responsible attitude when we see that a county committee and its first secretary do not take all necessary measures to carry out agricultural operations optimally and to attain the planned production or when they do not work properly in order to appropriately harvest, store, and deliver the agricultural produce to the state stock! What can one say about a county that submitted several written reports on the size of the achieved output by the county and that distributed products to cooperative workers in accordance with the results included in the reports, and later reported that they had not been able to deliver the entire planned production to the state stock? What is the connection between such an attitude and party responsibility and the responsibility to observing the laws of the land and the principles of self-management? Does self-management mean that we do not have to deliver to the state stock? Does it mean consuming things ourselves? I bring this issue up most seriously before the National Council of Agriculture and before all the cadres in agriculture, because we must completely eliminate such situations. We should strengthen political-educational work and the activity to shape the new type of man—a conscious builder of socialism and communism—and to raise the revolutionary awareness of the peasants and all working people in agriculture, because this is a factor of decisive importance in implementing the new agrarian revolution. In agriculture, just like in all economic activity, we should work in a revolutionary spirit and with great responsibility for the general interests of the homeland! It should be thoroughly understood that individual interests are closely connected with the general interest, and that the well-being of each person is connected with the well-being of the whole nation and with the general development of our homeland! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

We must never forget that the political-social basis of our country is the solid alliance between the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all other working people, regardless of nationality, and the unity of our whole nation within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, under the leadership of the RCP, the leading political force of our whole nation, the guarantee for achieving socialism and communism in our homeland! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu—RCP," "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

Esteemed Comrades, to achieve the planned agricultural production is a decisive requirement to ensure appropriate supplies for the whole country and to increase the contribution of agriculture to the general development of our homeland. Likewise, it is very important to deliver all agricultural produce on schedule, in accordance with the attained production and the contract stipulations.

In order to put an end to the negative situation that was noted last year, as of this year, the entire crop should be delivered and optimally stored within 10 days after harvesting.

We decided to set up the Contracting and Acquisition Ministry, which will coordinate all the activity of contracting agricultural products and will coordinate the activity of contracting animal products. This is in order to exercise uniform control and to ensure the stock of agricultural produce and foodstuffs required for an optimal supply to the population and the necessary supply of raw materials that we have previously mentioned.

We should take stock of all grain storage in May, in accordance with planned production, in order to ensure the required room for the optimal storage of all agricultural produce in all sectors. Certainly, apart from grain, vegetable contracting is also greatly important. Last year there were complaints that not all the vegetable production had been received from agricultural units. In no way should such situations—when the entire production is not received—be repeated. This also holds true for all agricultural products!

Accordingly, the people's councils, the county agricultural bodies, and county contracting bodies should see to it that all counties take the required measures in this area. Indeed, we should see to it that this year we achieve the best situation so far in the field of contracting and delivering agricultural produce on schedule, and ensuring the necessary stock of agricultural produce and foodstuffs!

Likewise, decisive measures are required to improve the activity of the Ministry of Food Industry and of central departments—particularly the Meat Processing and Livestock Acquisition Center, and the central department that is in charge of contracting, processing, and delivering milk, as well as of other central departments.

All these problems have been discussed during the meetings of the groups of counties and within the sections of the food industry. There are many things that need to be improved, and we must see to it that the food industry radically improves its activity in producing a greater variety of foodstuffs and of ensuring optimal nutrition for the population, in accordance with the requirements of a scientific and rational diet.

In general, as far as calories are concerned—we have great consumption with 3,500 calories per person. Thus, as a matter of fact, we exceed the required amount of calories. Nevertheless, we should take measures to produce a greater variety of foodstuffs, in accordance with the requirements of all categories of working people, and ensure more rational nutrition that is in the interest of good health and the optimal physical and intellectual development of each person.

Likewise, we should improve the activity of the National Council for Water Management in order to ensure clean water, fight pollution, and implement all required measures in this area.

Likewise, the Ministry of Silviculture should focus on fulfilling its plans and programs, particularly in carrying out the required afforestation program, better tending to forests, and ensuring their rational use.

In general, all sectors of the National Council of Agriculture must work to completely fulfill the plans and plan provisions for each branch and sub-branch, and thus ensure the fulfillment of all the targets of these important sectors of our national economy. At the same time, I would like to draw particular attention to the need to fulfill the export plan and to achieve the production earmarked for exports, in accordance with the plans and programs drawn up for each sector of activity.

Scientific research and the better application of the latest scientific discoveries in production are particularly important in fulfilling all objectives in agriculture and in all other areas. I do not want to dwell on these issues. You are aware of our objectives, achievements, and the new, ever greater requirements in the field of genetics, biological sciences in general, and in other fields. We have achieved good results. We have to increase the role and contribution of science in implementing the new agrarian revolution. As a matter of fact, we cannot speak of the agrarian revolution without markedly developing and applying in production the latest scientific discoveries in all areas!

Likewise, agricultural instruction should play a greater role in training cadres and in increasing the professional knowledge of agricultural workers, of mechanizers, and of all the peasants. I must again stress that, in order to achieve our great objectives in agriculture, we need people with thorough knowledge in all areas. In all areas, we need specialists, workers, cooperative farmers, and peasants, in general, with thorough knowledge, who are able to obtain—in better or worse climatic conditions—the best agricultural results!

I left the activity of the National Council for Agriculture for last, not because it has to be last, but because I would like to emphasize that it must be responsible for both the agricultural activity and for the activity in all other sectors in its jurisdiction. I must clearly state that I am not completely pleased with the way the National Council is carrying out its activity, especially the way in which its executive bureau carries out its activity, and the way it works in order to introduce a high spirit of order, discipline, and responsibility in all fields of activity. It must be clearly understood that, starting from uniform and democratic management in all sectors of activity, we must see to it that each person works with responsibility and in a revolutionary spirit to optimally fulfill his tasks in implementing the objectives included in this year's plan and in the 1986-1990 5-year plan.

Esteemed Comrades, we are at the beginning of the spring agricultural operations. As you have mentioned at this plenary meeting, in general the fall planting looks good. Now it is necessary to resolutely proceed to finishing our work on schedule and to observe all the established technologies. All members of the National Council of Agriculture and all agricultural bodies and units should assume responsibility for the optimal development of the spring operations. Given the present weather conditions, we must do all we can to finish all agricultural operations—the first and second stage—by 10 March. And by 15 March at the latest, we should conclude all the spring agricultural operations. We should sow in April what it was generally considered necessary to sow in May; I am referring to rice and some other industrial plants such as cotton.

We should review all our activity and, by all means, should conclude all other established agricultural operations earlier and in an optimal way. We have all the necessary conditions to conclude planting on schedule and to carry out high-quality operations, and thus lay the foundation for a good agricultural crop and, I have to stress it again, to achieve the best agricultural production that has ever been achieved in Romania! (loud, prolonged applause).

I intended to say a few words about international issues, but at the plenary meeting of the Working People's Council I spoke about them. Likewise, during the Party National Conference, we discussed these issues widely, and we presented our position in the international arena. Therefore, I do not want to dwell on these issues anymore. I would just like to stress that implementing our programs and plans for development in agriculture and all other sectors constitutes the greatest contribution of the peasantry and of all other people who work in agriculture to implementing our domestic and foreign policy, a policy of peace, disarmament, and cooperation with all the states of the world! (loud applause, cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-peace!")

I am convinced that all members of the National Council of Agriculture, all working people in other sectors, and all the peasants will work in complete unity and with great responsibility to optimally fulfill the production plans and programs. This will increase the contribution of agriculture to implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society, ensuring Romania's progress toward communism and guaranteeing the independence and sovereignty of our country! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged cheers of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!")

With this belief I extend to all of you, and to all the peasants, wishes for ever greater successes, for much health and happiness, and for ever higher yield! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the people!", "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!", and "Ceausescu-peace!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and strong unity, all those present in the hall cheer and chant for minutes on end for the RCP—the leading political force of our whole nation—and for the party secretary general and the president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Coman Continues Visit to Spanish CP Congress

AU221916 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1731 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Madrid, AGERPRES, 22/2/1988—Sincere congratulations, a cordial salute and best wishes of success in his activity were conveyed on behalf of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu to Julio Anguita Gonzalez, the new general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party.

Julio Anguita thanked and asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a warm, friendly salute on his behalf and on behalf of the entire party leadership, alongside the wish to further develop the relations between the two parties.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid on the general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who represented the RCP at the 12th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party.

Constantin Meets Portuguese Politicians

AU221903 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Lisbon, AGERPRES, 22/2/1988—Manuel Tito de Morais, president of the Portuguese Socialist Party, and Vitor Constancio, that party's secretary-general, received Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, RCP representative to the proceedings of the Congress of the Portuguese Socialist Party.

Opinions were exchanged on the development of ties between the two parties and of the Romanian-Portuguese collaboration, as well as on aspects of the current international life.

The interview occasioned an exchange of messages of salute between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and the leaders of the Portuguese Socialist Party.

Warm messages were also exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, and the president of the Democratic Renewal Party of Portugal, Herminio Martinho, when the latter received Nicolae Constantin.

Baltic Foreign Ministers Meeting Previewed

Viewed by Tupurkovski

*LD221650 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1412 GMT 22 Feb 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Every step which brings the Balkan countries closer to a more constructive dialogue on mutual relations and problems is precious, writes member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Vasil Tupurkovski in the latest issue of the Belgrade fortnightly REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Tupurkovski says that the Balkan countries' ministerial meeting in Belgrade, from February 24 through 26, will be an opportunity for bringing the stands of multilateral cooperation closer together.

"The Balkans before and after this meeting simply cannot be the same," he writes.

The fact that Yugoslavia's initiative to hold the meeting was accepted by all other Balkan countries - Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Turkey - is described by Tupurkovski as a "highly favourable trend and positive realistic approach of our partners."

Yugoslavia considers goodneighbourly relations the sine qua non factor of changing the underdeveloped status of the Balkans and turning the region into an integral part of Europe, upon the foundations of scientific, cultural and technological advancement, says Tupurkovski.

He recalls that for decades Yugoslavia has been an initiator of understanding, dialogue, mutually beneficial exchanges, respect for the dignity and observance of the rights of all countries in the region, all peoples and their historical, national and cultural traditions.

Goodneighbourly cooperation necessarily encourages independence, equality and autonomy, and "does not encroach upon the borders, national rights and vital interests of the Balkan peoples and countries," says Tupurkovski. In his assessment, however, it is necessarily in collision with bloc rivalries, greater state pretensions and national oppression.

Participants Profiled

*LD231015 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0125 GMT 23 Feb 88*

[Text] Belgrade, February 23 (TANJUG)—The meeting of the foreign ministers of all Balkan countries, to be held in Belgrade from February 24 to 26, will be a personal challenge for each of the six participants. Judging from the statements they have made in connection with the Belgrade meeting, the Balkan foreign ministers readily accept the challenge, convinced that their upcoming exchanges of views will contribute to cooperation in the Balkans.

The profiles of the foreign ministers of the six Balkan countries follow:

Yugoslavia—

Budimir Loncar, 63, career diplomat since the age of 25. His first posts abroad were those of Yugoslav consul in New York and counsellor at the Permanent Yugoslav Mission to the United Nations.

Loncar was appointed special adviser to the Yugolsav foreign secretary in 1965 and subsequently, Yugoslav ambassador to Indonesia, accredited also to Malaysia and Singapore. In the 1973-1977 period, Loncar served first as Yugoslav ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany and then as under-secretary in the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat. He was Yugoslav ambassador to the United States from 1979 to 1983. From 1984 until recently, when he was appointed Yugoslav foreign secretary, Loncar served as deputy Yugoslav foreign secretary.

Loncar attended 15 U.N. General Assembly sessions and virtually all non-aligned summits.

Loncar belongs to the generation of Yugoslav diplomats who, with Tito, secured Yugoslavia's diplomacy a prominent role on the world political stage.

Albania—

Reis Malile, 66, the oldest participant in the Belgrade meeting, will go down in the history of Albania's diplomacy as the first foreign minister who attended a multilateral gathering, not counting U.N. General Assembly sessions. Malile's participation in the Belgrade meeting is an indication of a greater flexibility in Albania's foreign policy line, in which, as believed, he, himself, has played an important role. The Albanian foreign minister began his political career in the educational area and subsequently switched to diplomacy.

Beijing was Malile's first ambassadorial post. From 1956 until 1982, when he became foreign minister, Malile served as Albania's ambassador to the United Nations.

Bulgaria—

Petar Mladenov, 53, took over as Bulgaria's foreign minister at a surprisingly early age of thirty.

Mladenov often sets out that one cannot choose one's neighbours and that, as a result, neighbours are all the more inter-connected.

After attending school in Moscow, Mladenov graduated from the Sofia University. Although young, he from the beginning displayed oustanding abilities as the man in charge of Bulgaria's diplomatic ties with the rest of the world, giving an important place to relations with the Balkan countries and the need to expand the mutual cooperation in the region.

Greece—

Karolos Papoulias, 58, known as a minister who extensively travels abroad, has of late visited Bonn, Davos, Sofia, Tel Aviv and Tirana. He is in permanent contact with his counterparts across the world and is a personal friend with many of them.

Papoulias uses every opportunity to stress the importance of cooperation in the Balkans. He is an associate of the Munich Institute for South-Eastern Europe.

Romania—

Ioan Totu, 57, has served as Romania's foreign minister since 1986. He received his B.A. and Ph.D. in economics from the Bucharest Academy for Economic Studies.

Totu was director-general of the Central Institute for Economic Research, chairman of the Economic-Financial Commission of the Grand National Assembly, secretary of state in the Supreme Council for Socio-Economic Development and deputy prime minister.

Totu, as Romania's chief diplomat, consistently implements Romania's foreign policy line, whose architect is President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Romanian foreign minister continues to teach as a university professor and has so far published a number of works dealing with economics.

Turkey—

Mesut Yilmaz, 41, the youngest participant in the Belgrade meeting, is considered at home to have a great political future ahead of him.

Yilmaz has become a symbol of Turkey's opening towards the rest of Europe and the world, especially towards neighbouring countries, including Middle Eastern.

TANJUG Assesses Meeting

LD230323 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1757 GMT 22 Feb 88

[By TANJUG diplomatic editor Djordje Milosevic]

[Text] Belgrade, February 22 (TANJUG)—The Balkan countries foreign ministers will arrive in Belgrade tomorrow to take part in a three-day ministerial meeting, the first in the history of the region. The ministers will be accompanied by their deputies and teams of experts, which indicates that all Balkan countries are well prepared for the upcoming meeting.

It also shows that none of the countries views the meeting as a routine gathering but rather as an event which might point to the ways of strengthening multilateral cooperation and promoting political climate in the region.

As expected, the foreign ministers will tomorrow meet with their host, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar. It will be an occasion for an informal exchange of views between the Yugoslav foreign secretary and his counterparts—Reis Malile of Albania, Petar Mladenov of Bulgria, Karolos Papoulias of Greece, Ioan V. Totu of Romania and Mesut Yilmaz of Turkey.

The official part of the ministerial meeting will start at the Belgrade Sava Centre on Wednesday morning. As expected, the meeting's host, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar will open the meeting, which will then be addressed by the Yugoslav Presidency President Lazar Mojsov.

It has been learned that all foreign ministers will give speeches tomorrow in the alphabetical order of the participant countries. Unofficial sources claim that the debate will continue the following day. The meeting is to end on Friday, February 26 by a closing session and, if not decided otherwise, a short public statement.

The ministers, as announced, will exchange views on the possibilities of promoting multilateral cooperation in all areas of identical interests and common needs. This resumes a debate on a series of questions such as cooperation in the areas of economy, traffic, fuel and power industry, agriculture, science, culture and tourism.

Yugoslavia will set forth a number of proposals and suggestions for the promotion of cooperation in many areas. Yugoslav diplomatic circles above all point to the need of strengthening the economic cooperation, including trade and, in particular, industrial cooperation, specialization and joint ventures on third markets. Unofficial sources claim that Yugoslavia might urge an integration of power systems of the Balkan countries and a closer cooperation between the Balkan countries' chambers of economy aimed at promoting economic cooperation.

As a transit and tourist country, Yugoslavia is very much concerned for promoted cooperation in the area of traffic, so that it will set forth concrete relevant proposals. It will urge also the expanding of local border trade and economic cooperation to bridge some of the current economic divisions even on a wider European scale.

Balkan countries represent a geographical link between the Eastern Europe and the Middle East, meaning busy road and railway traffic, which includes, say, drug smugglers. Yugoslavia is interested in the controlling of all activities contrary to international regulations and will set forth certain proposals in relation to this.

Yugoslav diplomatic circles expect a comprehensive and constructive debate on all participant countries' initiatives aimed at expanding multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

Albanian Minister Arrives

LD230948 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile has said that his country wants the Balkan ministerial conference to be a real success. He made these comments after arriving in Belgrade, where he will take part in the work of the meeting.

In a statement to TANJUG and Belgrade television, Reis Malile noted that the Balkan foreign ministers conference is of particular importance, and meets one of the region's pressing needs. There are many problems we must address, both bilateral and those connected with cooperation among Balkan countries. We must also consider the creation of a positive climate of trust, and the development of bilateral and multilateral ties. Malile explained that these topics will have special priority at the conference.

The Albanian minister said he will use his stay in Belgrade to hold separate talks with his host, Budimir Loncar, the federal secretary for foreign affairs. Their discussions will deal with the "development of good-neighbor relations between the two countries."

Reis Malile concluded by noting that "this atmosphere as a whole" would contribute to the peace and well-being of the Balkan peoples.

The guest from Albania was welcomed at Belgrade Airport by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and officials from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Loncar Welcomes Albanian

LD230958 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 23 Feb 88

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's welcoming ceremony for Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile, which was held at Belgrade Airport, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, made a statement to TANJUG and Belgrade television. His comments dealt with the meeting of foreign ministers from the Balkan countries, who begin 3 days of work here tomorrow.

"We have prepared ourselves both as participants and hosts of the session. We will do everything to help make this meeting as successful as possible. I feel that the atmosphere we want, as well as a sense of readiness and political will, will prevail among all the participants. As the hosts, we will act in line with our initiative to be helpful and play a role that will engender a feeling among all the participants that this is our common meeting and our collective achievement. We hope that everyone recognizes the need to divorce himself from the belief that each has gained something at this meeting. That type of thinking will serve the interests of individual countries and the Balkans as a whole," Loncar said.

Man Posing as U.S. General To Stand Trial

LD221547 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1430 GMT 22 Feb 88

[Text] Zagreb Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Branko Gojevic (41), a Yugoslav who posed as a U.S. army major general, a Vietnam war veteran or most often as a correspondent of the UPI news agency, will stand trial before the Samobor District Court in early March on charges of fraud and forgery of documents, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK reports today.

Using the assumed titles Gojevic conned people into giving him money in return for a journalist's job with UPI, work permits for one of the West European countries, or importing a car without customs tax. He received some 32,000 German marks from ten people. The "general" did not always insist on being paid in foreign currency, he also accepted cars instead of money.

During Gojevic's arrest late last year, many passports, a U.S. army uniform jacket and belt, many forged seals, and various diplomas he forged for himself and his friends were found in his trailer.

Gojevic was already convicted in September 1986 for forging a U.S. diplomatic passport, a UPI "Washington DC" press card and Dutch licence plates for the car in which he came to Zagreb. He was arrested during a routine traffic check.

With the joint efforts of Interpol, Yugoslav and Dutch police and experts, it was established that the licence plates were not issued in the Netherlands and that the car was stolen in Frankfurt, while the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade said it had no knowledge about the organization warranting Gojevic diplomatic status.

He was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, but was released in March 1987. As soon as he was free, he promptly resumed forging identity papers, visas and other documents.

NOTES